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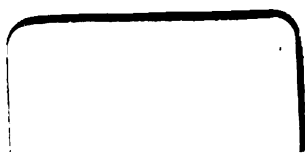
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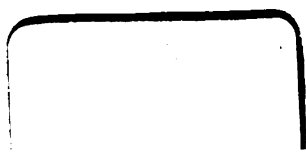
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Norfolk Archaeology:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK,

PUBLISHED BY THE

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.*

VOL. IV.

Norwich:

CHARLES MUSKETT, OLD HAYMARKET.

1855.



12 NOV 1949

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

	<i>Page</i>
Account of a MS. Genealogy of the Paston Family in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.— <i>F. Worship, Esq.</i>	1
Notice of the Common Seal of the White Friars of Lynn.— <i>Rev. C. R. Manning</i>	56
Castle Rising.— <i>H. Harrod, Esq.</i>	59
Impression of the Counter-Seal of Roger Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England.— <i>Rev. C. R. Manning</i>	92
On two ancient Charters in the possession of the Corporation of King's Lynn.— <i>C. W. Goodwin, Esq.</i>	93
On an ancient Enamelled Candlestick.— <i>Rev. C. R. Manning</i>	118
The Easter Sepulchre at Northwold.— <i>Rev. G. H. M'Gill</i>	120
State Papers relating to the custody of the Princess Elizabeth at Woodstock, in 1554; being Letters between Queen Mary and her Privy Council, and Sir Henry Bedingsfield, Knight, of Oxburgh, Norfolk.— <i>Rev. C. R. Manning</i>	133
Index to the above State Papers	227
Antiquities found at Caister near Norwich.— <i>R. Fitch, Esq.</i>	232
Notice of a brass Seal in the possession of George Jones, Esq., Marsham.— <i>H. Harrod, Esq.</i>	237
Notes on the Records of the Corporation of Great Yarmouth.— <i>H. Harrod, Esq.</i>	239
Original Letters of Sir Edward Coke and Edward Lord Cromwell.— <i>G. A. Carthew, Esq., F.S.A.</i>	267
Oxburgh Hall.— <i>Rev. G. H. M'Gill</i>	271
On the Right of Wardship, and the Ceremony of Homage and Fealty in the Feudal Times.— <i>G. A. Carthew, Esq., F.S.A.</i>	286
Index to the Harleian MS., Cod. 1109. Norfolk Families entitled to bear Arms.—(<i>Continued from Vol. III., p. 51</i>)	292
Remarks on some Churches in the neighbourhood of North Walsham, Visited by the Society, July 19 and 20, 1854.— <i>Rev. C. R. Manning</i>	296
A brief Sketch of the Antiquities of the Valleys of the Waveney and Yare.— <i>Greville J. Chester, Esq.</i>	310
Extracts from Early Wills in the Norwich Registries.— <i>H. Harrod, Esq., F.S.A.</i>	317
Appendix.—Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee	341

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	<i>Page</i>
Coat, Crest, and Supporters of Robert Paston, Viscount Yarmouth	1
Seal of the Carmelites of Lynn	56
Seal of Roger Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk	56
Seal of Robert de Montalt of Rising	56
Castle Rising Castle—	
General Plan	59
Gate House and Bridge	70
Hedingham Castle, 1592	71
Grand Entrance to Great Tower	72
Plan of Chapel	77
Great Tower, from view by Millicent	79
Plan of Ground Floor of Great Tower	79
Plan of Upper Floor of the same	81
Candlestick of Limoges Enamel, <i>circa</i> 1200	118
Easter Sepulchre, Northwold Church	120
Caister Antiquities (two plates)	232
Seal found at Marsham	237
Yarmouth Merchants' Marks	258
Yarmouth Trolley Cart	262
Oxburgh Hall, exterior view	271
King's Room, interior view	279
Baptistery at Trunch Church	297
Porch-buttress, Chancel of Trunch Church	299
Sound-holes, Tower of Worstead Church	302
Iron-work on South door, Tunstead Church	303
Iron-work on South door, Irstead Church	304
East Window of Aisles, North Walsham Church	306
Miscellaneous Plate.—(1, 2) Gold Coins of the Iceni: (3) Roman Urn found at Horsey: (4) Coat of Arms on Ring found at Sprowston:	
(5) Bronze Saxon Fibula found at Threxton: (6) Nutmeg-grater, 1666	354
Coins of the Iceni, found at Weston	358

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REGULATIONS.

1. THAT the Society shall be called, "THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. That the object of the Society shall be to collect the best information on the Arts and Monuments of the County, including Primeval Antiquities; Numismatics; Architecture, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Sculpture; Painting on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History, and Antiquities; comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs; Descent; Genealogy; Ecclesiastical History or Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

3. That all information thus received shall be entered in books kept for the purpose, which shall be open to the inspection of the Members of the Society, and be kept in the custody of the Secretaries.

4. That the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of eighteen.

5. That all such Antiquities as shall be given to the Society, shall be presented to the Norwich Museum.

6. That six of the Committee shall go out annually in rotation, but with the power of being re-elected; and also that the Committee shall supply any vacancy that may occur in their number during the year.

7. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer and Secretaries, be elected at the Annual General Meeting for one year, with power of being re-elected, and shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

8. That any person desirous to become a Member of this Society, shall be proposed by at least two of its Members, at either a General or Committee Meeting.

9. That every Member shall pay the Annual Subscription of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, to be due in advance on the first of January.

10. That distinguished Antiquaries, not connected with the County, may be elected as Honorary Members, at any of the General or Committee Meetings of the Society, on being proposed by two of the Members.

11. That Four General Meetings shall be held in the year, at such times and places as shall be from time to time determined by the Committee.

12. That such short papers shall be read at the meetings as the Committee shall previously approve of, and that the meetings shall conclude with the exhibition of, and discussion on, such subjects of interest or curiosity as Members may produce.

13. That the Committee may, on such occasions as they shall think necessary, call Special Meetings by advertisement.

14. That the Accounts shall be audited by two of the Committee, and a statement of the affairs of the Society shall be given at the first General Meeting in the year.

15. That the Committee shall meet the last Thursday in every month, at Twelve o'clock, to receive such information, and make such arrangements as may be necessary, preparatory to the General Meetings. That three shall be a quorum, and that the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

16. That a short Annual Report of the proceedings of the Society shall be laid before the General Meeting, and that a List of Members shall be printed from time to time.

17. That all papers deposited in the archives of this Society shall be considered the property of the Society; but that it shall be optional with the Committee to receive communications from Members, who are writing with other objects in view, and to return the same, after perusal, to the author.

18. That the Committee shall have the power of making Bye Laws, which shall remain in force till the next General Meeting.

19. That the Committee shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings, at the Society's expense, as may be deemed worthy of being printed; that each Subscriber shall be entitled to a copy of such publication, either gratis or at such price as the funds of the Society will admit, from the time of his admission; and to such further copies, and previous publications (if any there be in hand), at a price to be fixed by the Committee; that the author of such published papers shall be entitled to fifteen copies, gratis; and that the Committee shall have the power to make such arrangements for reprinting any of the parts of the Society's Papers, when out of print, as they may deem most conducive to the interests of the Society.

20. That the Society in its pursuits shall be confined to the County of Norfolk.





1Paston. 4Somerton. 7Hengraue. 10Gerbridge.
 2Peehe. 5Walcot. 8Wattham. 11Peyvir.
 3Leeche. 6Berrye. 9Hetherfet. 12Mawtby.

page (MS) 57

**THE COAT CREST & SUPPORTERS of Robert Paston,
 Viscount YARMOUTH.**

WINTER LITHO

ACCOUNT OF A
MS. GENEALOGY OF THE PASTON FAMILY,
IN THE
Possession of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.
BY FRANCIS WORSHIP, ESQ.

At a recent visit to Clumber, the seat of the Duke of Newcastle, his Grace put into my hand a manuscript volume relating to one of our oldest county families, and permitted me to give to our Society a description of it.

The volume in question is of the largest folio, of vellum, and in the best condition. It was compiled in the year 1674 for Robert Paston, the first Viscount, and subsequently Earl of, Yarmouth; and the compiler was Francis Sandford, the author of the laborious and accurate *Genealogical History of England*. The object of Sandford was evidently the deduction of the Paston pedigree from the English patriarch of the family to Robert Lord Yarmouth, his employer. Sandford does not, however, stop short in this his definite object, but occasionally turns aside to the descents of those families into which the Pastons have married, and to the houses which branch from them. In illustration of the Paston family, and of their connections and descents, the volume is illustrated by 260 Coats of Arms, most exquisitely blazoned. Oxnead, the Norfolk seat of Lord Yarmouth, was in 1674 in its full

glory : its treasures were then entire, its archives were untouched, and Sandford had full use of all its title-deeds MSS. and "Paston Correspondence." The book bears throughout the same evidences of study and research which distinguish the Genealogical History of England. Among these evidences are copies of thirty-two Latin Deeds, Charters, and Inquisitions, besides many in our own tongue. Honesty and truth appear to be the only objects of the laborious compiler. Of the seventy-nine pages of the volume, sixty-two are evidently simultaneous, and complete the genealogy of the Pastons at the time of the compilation. There are seventeen pages in a different hand, and of a shortly subsequent date, which supply additional matter, and carry on the family history a little, and a very little, farther. These additions are so slight, and at the same time are so evident, that I find no need to notice them. I shall deal with the volume as a whole, and shall not trouble the reader (who will remember that the first and main portion of the book was written in 1674) with any varieties of type, to show where Sandford ends, and where his continuator begins.

But, before I enter upon an account of this splendid volume, I think it right to say that I shall confine myself strictly to its contents. I do not feel myself called upon to enter upon any other matter than that which lies before me. It will be nothing to me that a variation should be found between the Pedigree embodied in Blomefield's *History*, and the Pedigree in the direct line from father to son which was compiled by Sandford. I shall not turn aside to discuss, or attempt to rectify, any discrepancies. I shall deal with the book as I find it; and in so doing, I persuade myself that I shall be acting justly towards the Duke of Newcastle, who permitted me to make the volume known, as well as to our Norfolk readers, who will feel ever thankful for his Grace's kindness in opening a fresh, and hitherto a private, source of information respecting one of our historical families.

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Clement

Edmund
wi

Elizabeth, ma
John Swanton

Robert=Elizabeth=Sr George John Paston,=Margaret Edmund P
Poynings. Paston. Browne. Esq^r. 17. Mauteby. 2nd son, ol
16. 16. 16. 17. 14. 14. 14.

Sir John Paston, Kn^t. Sir John Paston, R
dyed without issue. 20. 26.

Philippa, marr. to Andrew Sr William Paston, Kn^t.
Hugard. 27. 28. Kn^t.

Eleanor, marr. to Tho. Anne, wife of Erasmus Paston,=Mary W
Earle of Rutland. 33. Tho^s. Tindal. 31. Esq^r. 38. 3 Margaret, marr.
to John Lecke.
32.

Eleanor, marr. to Frances, marr. William Paston,=Frances
Edw. Echingham. 39. Tho. Gross. 39. Esq^r. 40. Cleere. 40. e, marr. to
Newton.
30.

Christopher Paston,=Anne Audley. Wulstan Paston, Anne Paston.
Esq^r. 41. 41. second son. 40. 40.

Sr Edmund=Katherine Frances, Katherine, An
Paston, Kn^t. Knivet. marr. to marr. to Tho. Compton
41. 41. Crispe. 30. Talbot. 30. 30. to
d.

Sr William=Lady Kath Thomas Paston, Elizabeth, married
Paston, Bar^t. erine Bert. 2d son, to .. Townley.
42. 42. ob. s. p. 43. 30.

Robert, Viscount Yarmouth
Paston of Paston.

Margaret, marr. to William Paston,=Charlotte Jemia
Seign^r Hieronomo Alberto eldest son and heir Henrietta Maria, R
di Conti. 43. apparent. 42. na'al da'ur of daughter.
K. C. 2d. 43.

The title is as follows, viz. :

"The | Genealogie | of | The Right Honorable S^r Robert
| Paston, of Paston in the County | of Norfolk, Knight and
Baronet, | Lord Paston of Paston, and | Viscount Yarmouth.
| Together with the Descents of those Familyes, | into which
the Pastons have married, and of | many illustrious Houses
which branch | themselves from this Noble and Antient |
Family. | Collected out of severall Pedegrees and Evidences
| of this Family, the publick Records of the | Kingdome,
the Registers of the Colledge of | Armes, and other Monu-
ments of Antiquity. | Anno Domini | 1674 | By Francis
Sandford, R. D." *

The title-page is richly decorated with griffins, ostriches, and scroll-work. At the top is the Paston shield, surmounted by a Viscount's coronet, and supported by two recumbent winged figures. At the bottom are the arms of Paston impaling Clayton, the shield being surmounted by a Viscount's coronet, and supported by two bears chained and collared.

The two next pages display the Pedigree, and contain these words within an ornamented border, namely :

"A | Genealogical Table of the | Family of Paston, | directing the Reader to the severall | Pages wherein the persons here | mentioned are more pticularly | treated of." I subjoin an exact copy of this Pedigree, even to the pages referred to.

The first page of the general matter of the volume, that page which begins the evidences and illustrations in support of the Pedigree, displays the coat of the first WULSTAN DE PASTON, of WULSTAN *his son*, and of RALPHE the son of the *last-named* Wulstan, opposite their several names. I shall

* Francis Sandford was created Rouge Dragon Pursuivant at Arms, 16th June, 1661, and Lancaster Herald, 16th November, 1675. He surrendered his office 10th April, 1689, and died 17th January, 1694.

copy the contents of the first page that it may be seen in what way Sandford treats his subject.

Opposite the coat of the *first* WULSTAN DE PASTON it is written :

"This *Wulstan Paston* came out of France to his cosin William Earle Glanvile three yeare after the Conquest, and was buried at Baketon, where first the said Earle founded the Abby of Bromholme, and from thence they both were translated to Bromholme Abby founded after by the said Earle, as it doth appeare by an old booke remaining in the custody of Edward Paston, Esq^r., which booke is supposed to appertein to William Botyner ats Worcester, Herald of Armes, and Executor to S^r John Fastolf, Kn^t., in the which there is written the Pedigrees of most of the Norffolke Gentⁿ of that age, and, among others, there is written of the Pastons, as followeth :

"*Obitus* Willimi Paston filii Clement Paston xiiij^o die Augusti anno Dni. 1444^o anno rⁿⁱ Rⁱ Henr' sexti xxij^o litera dominical. D. Sed memorand. quod dies anni^{vs}sarii sui teneatur semper xiiij^o die quia xiiij dies est vigil assum^pcon beate Marie, et iste Wiffus fuit etat. lxxvj annor, & natus fuit apud Paston, moritur. London, sepult. apud Norwic, & memorand. quod omnes antecessor sui (except Wulstano qui venit in Angliam ad Wiffum Comitem Glanvile tertio anno post conquestu^m) sepulti sunt apud Paston in Choro ecclie & porterio, & ipse *Wulstanus* sepultus fuit apud Baketon prope dictum Wiffum Glanvile, ubi Abbathia de Bromholme prima fundata est."

Opposite the coat of the *second* WULSTAN it is thus written :

"This *Wulstan* the second is men^çoned and set down in Foure very old Pedigrees of the Pastons which were delivered by Clement Paston, Esq., unto his nephew Edward Paston."

"That *Wulstan de Paston*, first of the name, did beare this

coate* appeareth by a very old Pedigree, & by two old breefs of the evidences showed before King Edw. the fourth."

Opposite the shield or coat, for I shall use the words indifferently, of RALPHE DE PASTON, the son of the *second* Wulstan, it is thus written :

"This Ralph of Paston is menconed in the Foure old Pedigrees above named, and in the Deeds following of Richard his sonn, who calleth himself Richard the sonn of Ralph of Paston."

The next in descent (page 2) is RICHARD, the *son of Ralph de Paston* ; and over his coat is a label, stating that he lived in the reign of King Henry II. Opposite the coat of this Richard de Paston is written as follows :

"This Richard of Paston, by his Deed sealed with the Flower de lice, granted lands in Paston to be held freely of him and of his heirs. He did also by deed give certein rents unto the Abby of Bromholme ; which deed is sealed with a Flower de lice, and his grant confirmed by a Charter from King Henr^o the second, as it doth appeare in an old legier booke ptaining to the said Abby." Then follow copies, in Latin, of the deeds referred to. By the first,† Richard the son of Ralph de Paston grants to Ganfridus the son of Roger Chweyt, and his heirs, six pieces (pecias) of land, whereof five were commonly called Lislonde, and the sixth was part of the grantor's patrimony in Paston field ; the whole together amounting to three acres and ten rods. Land at Wrangland, Dubelhorns-hill, and Vere, and the lands of Uls, of John the

* The coat is, Or, six fleurs-de-lis azure, 3, 2, 1. This coat is continued until the time of Richard de Paston, the third in descent from the first Wulstan, when it is blazoned *argent*, six fleurs-de-lis azure, 3, 2, 1.

† The Deed is stated to be sealed with the grantor's own seal. It is without date. The witnesses are Lawrence de Reppes, Nicholas and John his brothers, William de Bradfelde, and many others.

son of Richard, and of Alan the son of Hugh, are given as boundaries. The rent is 8*d.*, payable quarterly. By the second Deed,* Richard the son of Ralph de Paston gives, grants, and confirms to God and to the Church of St. Andrew of Bromholme, and the Monks there, certain rents amounting to twelve pence yearly, for the health of his own soul, and for the soul of his father Richard, and of Nicholas his brother, and for the souls of his predecessors and successors. Then follows the copy of the above-mentioned Charter of King Henry II. (who styles himself, *inter alia*, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou), whereby he confirms certain donations and grants to God and the Church of St. Andrew of Bromholme, and the Prior and Monks there, and, among others, the before-mentioned grant of 12*d.* by Richard the son of Ralph de Paston. †

Sandford adds to this copy, that it was "taken out of the leger booke of the Abby of Bromholme;" and he goes on to say, "Of this *Richard of Paston* is mençoned in every one of the foure old Pedigrees above-named that he had two sonnns, Robert, his eldest, and John, his second; the which John had issue Richard, and the said Richard had issue John; and there is made mençon of divers bondmen which they did grant and sell by these words." And then follows a Latin quotation, or extract, showing that this John the son of Richard de Paston had bondmen (*nativos*) in Paston in the time of Henry II.; and that this Richard the son of John

* The Deed is without date. It is stated to be sealed with the grantor's own seal, and the witnesses are Sir Walter de Glanville, Gerard de Nerford, William the Constable, and many others.

† The witnesses to the Charter are P. Bishop of Winchester, William Earl Warren, Roger de Bigod Earl of Norfolk, Philip de Albini, Hugh Despenser, Godfrey de Cawcumb, John son of Philip, Thomas de Hemingrave, Bartholomew Peche, and others: and the Charter was given under the hand of the venerable Father R. Bishop of Exeter, the King's Chancellor, at Bromholme, the 16th day of February, in the 18th year of the King's reign.

de Paston granted Herben Vell,* his bondman (nativum suum,) to Richard de Ludham.

ROBERT OF PASTON, the *son* of the *last-named Richard* of Paston, comes next (page 3) and it is stated in the label over his shield that he "dyed the third of the Kal: of Aprill, 1252, a° 37 Hen. 3." Opposite the shield, Sandford says, "Of this Robert of Paston is written in the old Pedigrees above mençoned as followeth :

"Iste *Robertus* obiit tertio calend Aprilis anno 1252, anno Hen^o tertii 35°. Iste *Rob^otus* pquesivit terf. de Domino Hamelino Comⁱ Warrehⁱ filii Galfridi Plantaginet Regis Jerusalem, Comit Andegamo, ex Matilda Imp^{at}ricis fil. Rⁱ Hen^o filii Conquestor & patr Rⁱ Hen^o sçdi, qui quidem Hamelinus fuit creatus Comes anno Dni. 1169, & obiit 1200."

"This coate without the cheefe, is to be seen in a stone that was taken from Justice Paston's tombe, & remaineth at this day at Oxnethall."†

Then follows (page 4) EDMUND DE PASTON, the *son* of the *last-named Robert de Paston*, and opposite his shield (Paston impaling Glanville)‡ is written as follows :

"The evidence following is taken out of the old booke mençoned at the begining of this Pedigree, written by Wm. Botyner als Worcester, first herald to S^r John Fastolfe, who was Kn^t. of the Garter, Baron of Sinegnile in France, & Lord Steward to the Duke of Bedford." Next comes a list of the Paston relatives of W. Glanville, "in evidenç apud Norw." "This Edmund, the son of Robert of Paston,

* This name is printed as it appears in the MS.

† The coat is similar to that mentioned in a previous note, viz. Argent, six fleurs-de-lis azure, 3, 2, 1.

‡ The coat of *Glanville* is, Azure, a chief indented or.

married the daughter of Glanvile, as it doth appear in one of the old Pedigrees above menconed." Then follows the copy of a Latin deed, whereby Edmund the son of Robert de Paston gives and grants to Clement, his son and heir, one acre of land with the appurtenances called Kylestofe, lying in the village of Paston, which his father bought of Hamelin Earl Warren.* The account of this Edmund de Paston ends with these words: "This matche of Paston and Glanvile is to be seene in the hall, in the glasse windowes, at Paston."

CLEMENT PASTON, the *eldest* son of the *last-named Edmund de Paston*, comes next (page 5.) Opposite his shield Sandford says :

"To this Clement, the Bishopp of Norwich granted a licence to have a Chappell in his house to heare divine service. He had many bondmen, as it doth appeare by divers antient deeds, among which there are some that specified that he was Lord of the Fee in Paston. He purchased divers lands of the Abbott of St. Bennets, which Sir William Paston, that now is, possesseth at this day. He lived to great age, & dyed in the fourth yeare of Edward the Second."

"This grant following remaineth at Paston under the Bishopp's seale;" and then follows the copy of a licence, in Latin, from John Bishop of Norwich, to his beloved in Christ, Clement, the son of Edmund de Paston, to erect, on the ground of health and the weight of age, a chapel (oratorium) at Paston, at his place of abode, for the term of life. The grant is dated at Thornage, on the 6th ides of January, 1301, and in the 3rd year of the Bishop's consecration.

Then comes the copy of a Latin deed, to prove that this

* The Deed is without date. The witnesses are Sir Thomas de Tindham, Sir John de Haversham, Sir William de Hastinge, William de Collingham, and others.

Clement Paston was Lord of the Fee of Paston;* and next comes an extract, "ex libro ptinenti Monastario S^{ti} Benedicti de Hulmo, fol. 133," and Sandford adds, "the lands hereunder mentioned, S^r Wm. Paston that now is possesseth at this day." The extract sets forth a deed, whereby Clement, the son of Edmund de Paston, granted the sum of 5*s.* 7*d.* yearly to the Abbot and Convent of St. Bennet in the Holme, payable out of lands at Paston and Knapton.†

"Willelmus filius Simon Peche relaxavit Doñno Willimo de Reppes maneriũ suũ de Baketon anno Edwardi filii Henr. xxvii^o. Teste Rogero Groos, Clemente Paston.

"Of this Clement, the sonn of Edmond of Paston, is written in the old Pedigrees as followeth:

"Iste Clemens pquesivit diversas terr^o de Simon Peche Milit. & de Willimo filio Dno de Bovilla, & de Galfrido Playes, & de Rogero Playes, & de Rogero Huntingfeld milit. & de pluribus aliis p cartas diversas sine dat^o plenius apparet: & spec^o quod est Dñus de feodo, & pquesivit unũ molendinũ aquaticũ anno nono E. filii Rⁱ Hen: & hũit licentiã habendũ capellam, & oratoriũ in domo suo. Iste hũit plures nativos de sanguine, quorũ exi^o vivunt ad present. Iste condidit testam^o suũ anno xxv^o. Edw. primi. Iste fuit supstes tempore Rⁱ Henr^o tertii, & obiit iiij^o. Edw. secundi in magna senectute. Iste Clemens fuit impanella^o inter Milit^o sup unam inquisiconĩ pro prior alienĩ."

* The Deed is without date. The witnesses are John de Kimburl, Edmund his brother, Lawrence de Repps, William his brother, Thomas of St. Faith's (de St^r Fide), John Yln, Thomas de Wilogge, William his son, Clement de Wakecum, Roger his son, John Blane de Tilney, John his son, Robert Ymaine, and others. John de Kimburl is mentioned in the deed as holding lands at Paston.

† The witnesses are Sir Bartholomew de Antingham, Knight, Robert de Martham, &c. The deed is dated at Norwich, on the Monday next after the Feast of the Translation of *our* St. Thomas, in the 14th year of the reign of Edward the son of King Henry.

Next comes (page 6) the coat of EDMUND, the *son* of the *last-named Clement Paston*, and in the label above his coat it is stated that he died without issue, and that he married Agnes, who was his widow, 8 Edward II. Opposite this coat is the copy of a Latin Deed, whereby Agnes, who was the wife of the late Edmund the son of Clement de Paston, in her proper widowhood, releases and quits claim for herself and her heirs to Richard Curteis, of North Walsham, and Robert his son, their heirs and assigns, all right and claim which she ever had, or could have, in half an acre and ten perches of land at North Walsham.*

Then follows (page 7) the coat of WALTER, the *second son* of the above-named *Edmund de Paston*, who was the son of Robert de Paston, impaling Peche. Sandford writes opposite this shield :

“ This Walter, second sonn of Edmund of Paston, did first give in his coat the chiefe indented or, which the Pastons beare at this day as an ornam^t unto the same, for that it is part of Glanville’s coat, whose daughter his father Edmund did marry, as it doth appear by one of the old Pedigrees before mençoned, wherein is sett down the Armes that the Pastons did beare, from Wulstan the first until this Walter, and none of them did give this chiefe before him. It doth also appeare this to be true by a stone that at this day is to be seen at Oxned Hall, which was brought from Christ’s Church in Norwich, and it stood over the Tombe where William Paston the Judge was buried, in which stone there is Paston’s coat with the chiefe indented or, & Paston’s coat as it was borne before this Walter’s time without the said chiefe.”

“ This Walter the sonn of Edmund of Paston married Cicile

* The witnesses are Roger le Geldenge, Roger his son, William Bru, Walter de Colcester, and others ; and the deed bears date the 8th year of the reign of King Edward the son of Edward.

the daughter and heir of Symon Peche,* and by that marriage they had divers lands of inheritance, and among others a water-mill in Baketon, as it doth appeare by the Fine hereunder mençoned, leavyed between Clement the sonn of Edmund of Paston & Symon Peche and Julian his wife, To the use of Walter Paston and Cicile his wife, daughter of the said Simon, and to the heirs of the said Cicile." And then follows a copy of the Fine in question, levied in Easter Term in the 9th year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry.

Next (page 8) comes CLEMENT, the *son* of the *last-named Walter de Paston*, his shield impaling that of Le Leche; † and over the shield it is written within a label that he died the 6th day of June, anno 35 Edward III., and that he married Cicily the daughter of William Le Leche. Opposite this shield Sandford thus writes:

"To this Clement, the sonn of Walter of Paston, John Bishopp of Norwich granted licence to keepe a chappell in his house for him and his familie. This Clement purchased divers lands of John Earle of Warren, as it doth appear by the Deed of the said Earle hereunder written. Of this

• Sandford sets forth the Pedigree of Peche as follows, viz.:

Gilbert Peche, founder of Barnnell.
 |
 Edmund Peche marr. dau. of Sir Payn Peverell, Earl of Nottingham.
 |
 Gilbert Peche married Johane, dau. of Edmond Grey.
 |
 Gilbert Peche married Isolde, daughter of
 |
 Gilbert Peche, son and heir of Gilbert.
 |
 Simon Peche married Julian, dau. of
 |
 Walter, the second son of = Cecily, the daughter and
 Edmond de Paston. heir of Simon de Peche.

The coat of *Peche* is under the name of the first Gilbert, viz., Argent, a fesse between two chevrons, gules: at the top of the upper chevron a lion rampant, or. The coat of Edmund Peche impales that of Peverell; and the coat of the second Gilbert Peche impales that of Grey.

† The coat of *Le Leche* is, Ermine, on a chief indented gules, 3 crowns or.

Clement there are divers deeds remaining yett at Paston to be seen, sealed with the selfe-same coat which the Pastons bear at this day. He married the daughter and heir of William Le Leche, by whom he had a mannor in Baketon called Leches, which Sr William Paston that now is possesseth at this day. He had issue one sonn and two daughters, and dyed the sixth of June in the xxvth year of Edward the third."

Then follows a copy of the Bishop's licence to Clement the son of Walter de Paston.*

Next is a copy of Earl Warren's Deed, whereby the said Earl, "pro homagio, & servitio suo, & pro Viginti libris sterlingorū quas nobis dedit *pre manib*," grants to the said Clement Paston one acre of land called Kylestofe lying in the village of Paston, with one messuage thereon, and four acres of coppice lying in the field of the same village, and three acres of arable land lying in the field of Knapton, and nine acres and one rood of arable land lying in the field of Trunch, with one cottage thereon.†

And then comes the copy of a Deed,‡ whereby Clement, the son of Walter de Paston, grants, gives, and confirms to William his son, his heirs and assigns, all his capital messuage in Paston, and all his tenements in Paston (excepta una camera cum uno solario in messuagio pd ex pte orien)

* The licence is given at Heningham on the 5th calends of August, 1314, and in the 15th year of the Bishop's consecration.

† The witnesses are Sir Michael de Ponings, Thomas his brother, John de Wisham, Knights; Richard de Cherston, Robert de Reppes, John Pyks, Laurence de Reppes, John Spriggey, Nicholas de Paston, and others. The Deed is given at Sandale, the 24th day of August, in the fourth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Edward.

‡ The witnesses are Laurence Sprigge, John de Ketelston, William his son, Ralph Sprigge, and others. The Deed is given at Paston, on the Wednesday next after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, and in the 23rd year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest. The grantor states that he has put his own seal to the deed.

aule). And Clement Paston, by the same deed, further grants, gives, and confirms to his son William, his heirs and assigns, all his tenements in Baketon, Edenthorpe, and Munsley, and Knapton, with their appurtenances. Sandford adds, "The seal of this deed is six flower de lices with a chief indented over them, and over the said chief written Paston."

Sandford farther adds, "Of this Clement, the son of Walter of Paston, is written in the old Pedigrees as followeth :

"Iste perquesivit cert' terr' de Johnne Warrena Comⁱ Surr': iste finem levavit in Cur R^a. Iste obiit xxj die Septembr^o, anno Edri tertii xxij^o. & nupsit Ceciliã filiam Willimi Leche. Iste habuit nativos de sanguine, & sigillavit sigill. armor^o flower de lice. E^pus Norwicen concessit isto Clementi ad habend^u capellam sacerdotem idoneu^m ad celebr' ad divin^u in doma sua in Paston fil. & famil. sue. Iste in diversas cartas ponitur inter testes in principio ante alios generosos vet'imos. Testament. suu^m probatu^m fuit, & potuit descendere xx^{li} libr^o p annu^m."

Then (page 10) comes WILLIAM, the son of the *last-named Clement de Paston*, and in the label over his coat it is written that "he dyed upon the 6th day of June, anno 35^o Edw. 3. He married dau. of Stalham."* Opposite this coat is an extract of an Indenture, made between Clement de Paston of the one part, and William, the son of Clement de Paston, of the other part, whereby the said William grants and demises to the said Clement, for the term of his life, a water-mill with two pieces of land thereto pertaining, lying in the village of Trunch and Baketon; which pieces of land

* Under the coat of this William Paston is shewn the coat of his daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Swanton; and the coat of, their daughter and heir, who married Walsham. It is added that their daughter and heir, married to Lovell.

with the mill the said William had lately purchased of the said Clement.* Sandford adds, "The seal of this deed is six flower de lices with a chiefe indented, and Paston written over it." Sandford goes on to say :

"Out of the old Pedigrees above menconed : Iste Wittus obiit sexto die Junii an^o rⁿⁱ R^e Edwardi tertii, post conquestū xxxv^o, ut patet inferius. Et quidam Wittus filius Nichai de Antingham relaxit isti Wittimo jus suū in quartā ptem terrarū et tenementorū redditū & servitū tam liborū quam nativorū cum eor sequel. in Baketon & Paston."

CLEMENT PASTON, the son of the last-named William Paston, comes next (page 10.) His coat (Paston quartering Peche and Le Leche) impales that of Beatrix, daughter of John, and sister and heir of Geoffrey de Somerton, quartering Walcot;† and in the label over the shield of this Clement Paston it is said that he was the son of William de Paston, and that he died upon St. Botolph's day, 1419. Sandford then says :

"This Clement, sonn and heir of William Paston, married Beatrix Somerton, sister and heire to Jeffrie Somerton ; by which marriage the said Clement had the mannor of Somerton, which was after given away by William Paston, the Judge, to William Paston his sonn, as it doth appear in an old coppie of the Will of the said Judge remaining at this day at Paston."

Sandford goes on : "Of this Clement is written, in one of the old Pedigrees before menconed, as followeth : Iste Cle-

* The witnesses are John Sprigie, Laurence Sprigie, William de Langham, and others. The Deed is dated at Paston at the feast of All Souls in the 22nd year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest.

† The coat of *Somerton* is, Or, on a chevron between 3 lions' heads erased gules, as many bezants. The coat of *Walcot* is, Azure, an inescutcheon within an orle of 10 martlets, argent. Clement Paston and Beatrix Somerton his wife are both buried at Paston.

mens obiit in feste S^u Botolphi anno dñni mccccxj. anno Hen. v^{ti} vij^o. Iste nupsit Beatricem soror⁹ & hered Galfredi fil Johannis Somerton, & potuit despendere xx^{li} & ulter⁹. Et idem Clemens obtinuit in assisa contra Abbat. S^u Benedicti de Hulmo.”*

Then comes (page 11) WILLIAM PASTON the Judge, *son of the last-named Clement de Paston*. His coat impales the coat of Agnes his wife, the daughter and heir of Sir Edmond Berrye, Knight. In the label over the Judge's coat, it is stated that he died the 14th day of August, 1444. Opposite this name Sandford says :

“Memorandum, that Edward Esquire hath in his custody a grant of Letters Patents made by Henry the Sixth, very fairly written, and sealed with a faire great seale of the said King, bearing date the 7th of August in the 15th year of his raigne, wherein it doth appeare, that William Paston in this Pedigree set down, was Sergeant to Hen. the Fourth & Hen. the Fifth, and was one of the Judges of Hen. the Sixth the

* Page 10 has the following genealogy leading to the above Beatrix de Somerton, who married the above Clement, the son of William de Paston, viz. :

Geoffrey Barkinge married Isabell, daughter of Sir Tho. Begvyle, Knt.

Isabell, daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Barkinge, married to
Thomas Gonville, son and heir of Rauf.

Geoffrey Gonville, son and heir of Thomas.

...., daughter of Geoffrey Gonville, was married to Somerton,
whose ancestors had married the heir of Walcot.

John Somerton, Esq^r. married Sara, the daughter of William Cleere.

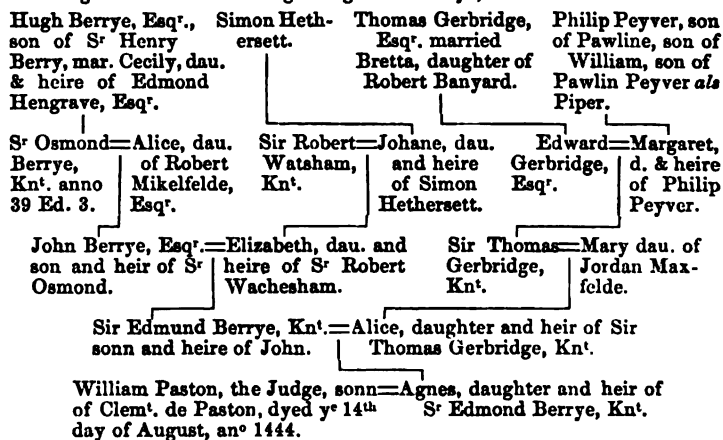
Beatrix, dau. of John and sister and heire of Geoffrey de Somerton.

The following coats are given with the above names, viz. : Gonville and Barkinge, Somerton and Gonville, and Somerton and Cleere. The coat of *Gonville* is like that used by Gonville (now Gonville and Caius) College, Cambridge. The coat of *Cleere* is similar to that used by the knightly family who resided at Ormesby in Norfolk, viz., Argent, on a fess azure, 3 eagles displayed, or.

same year. In the said Patent there are set down many privileges and liberties granted to the said Will.; wherof two are, That he should not be sent beyond the seas, Nor should be returned of any Jury of attain; and besides this there is sett downe that he was of the said King's Councell for the Duchy of Lancaster."

"A note taken out of the last Will & Testam^t of Agnes Berrye, wife to Justice Paston, proving her descent from Gerbridge and Berrye,* viz., Also I bequeath to the whight fryers of y^e said City of Norwich, for I am there a suster, to helpe to pay hir debts xx^{li}, wch I will be gathered of the arrerage of my lyvelode. Also I bequeath to the Auter of Gracion of the said House, whe^ras mine husband and I have a ppetuall masse, a vestment which they have for a Prist to judge in or (of?) rede saterⁿ. Also to the mendinge of y^e

* Page 10 has the following Pedigree of Berrye, viz. :



The coat of William Paston, the Judge, quarters Peche, Le Leche, Somerton, and Walcot. The coat of Berrye has the following quarterings, viz. :
 1. *Berrye* : Argent, a chevron sable between 3 boars' heads coupéd muzzled, or. 2. *Hengrave* : Argent, a chief indented gules. 3. *Wachesham* : Argent, a fesse gules, in chief two crescents gules. 4. *Hethersett* : Azure, a lion rampant gardant, or. 5. *Gerbridge* : Sable, a fesse between two chevrons, or. *Peyver* : Argent, on a chevron gules, 3 fleurs de lis, or.

chappell of our Ladie within the said place, wheſas S^r Thomas Gerbredge, my grandfather, & Dame Elizabeth his wife, & S^r Edmond Berrye, my father, & Dame Alice his wife, be buried, and Clement Paston, my sonn.”

“This William Paston, sonn & heir to Clement Paston, learned in the lawes of this Realme, was first Sergeant to King Henry the sixth, & after second Judge of the Coſmon Place, whom King Henry the sixt did so favour, that he granted him one hundred and ten marks and two gowns, to be taken yearly out of the Exchequer over & besides the fee due unto the said place, as it doth appear by the coppie of the Patent hereunder written. He married the daughter & heir of S^r Edmund Berry, Kn^t., by whom he had the Mannors of Oxned and Marlingford and divers other lands & possessions in the County of Norff.

“To prove the credit that William Paston was in before he was a Judge :

“Noverint uni^⁹ſei p^⁹ pntes me Jo^⁹hnem Fastolfe * militem ordinasse constituisse & loco meo posuisse dilectos mihi in X^{po} Jo^⁹hnem Ratcliffe & Henric^⁹ Englos, Milites, Jo^⁹hnem Fastolfe & Willimum Paston, Armigeros, & Jo^⁹hnem Hartlinge, Clicūm quinq. quatuor, tres, vel eorum duos. procurator^⁹ & attornat^⁹ general meos & sp^⁹iales ad computend^⁹, demand^⁹, & prosequend^⁹ vice & nomine meo versus honorabil. & reverend^⁹ Dños Executor^⁹ testam^⁹ defunct nup Dñi R^⁹ Anglie Henrici quinti, & Dñum Thomā Ducem Excestr^⁹ nup Capitan ville de Harfleu, seu eorū ministros & officarios quoscunq. quibus ipsa res spectat & ptinet, vel spectare & ptinere poterit, pro omnib^⁹ & singulis denariis mihi p^⁹ pd nup Dñum Regem & pd Ducem

* In the “Paston Letters,” Vol. III. p. 261, will be found an account of the sums due from the Crown to Sir John Fastolfe, amounting in all to 21,099 marks, five shillings, and sixpence, or £14,066. 5s. 6d. And in the same volume, p. 269, is a declaration of the costs to which Sir John Fastolfe had been subjected in attending the King’s wars beyond the seas, amounting to 6125 marks, nine shillings, and three farthings, or £4083. 15s. 7½d. Both accounts are dated in 1455.

causa vadioꝝ meoꝝ & faldurioꝝ nuper in retinencia seu retinia mea existen, & eisdem Dñis tam in Francia, Normaniā, quam in Gasconia servicū, seu alia quacumque de causa debitis. In cujus rei testimoniu sigillū meū est pntib^a appensū. Dat in civitate Teroni in comit Teronianie die decima sexta mensis Julii anno Dñi milesimo quadrigeū vicesimo sexto.

“T. OVERTON.”

“Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie & Franc & Dominus Hibnie, omnibus ad quos present litere pveniant saltem. Sciatis quod de gratia nra spiali, & ut dilectus & fidelis noster Willus Paston unus Justic nrum de comi banco statū suū decentius mantenere, & expensas quas ipum in officio pd facere oportebit sustinere valeat, concessimus ei centum & decem marcas pcpicnd singulis annis ad Scchariū nostrū ad terminos Pasche & S^{ti} Michis per equales porções, & Duas Robas p annū pcpicnd, unam (vizt.) cum pellura ad festum natalis Dni., & aliā cum linura ad festū Pentecoste ult^a feod^a consuet, quā diu ipsum stare contigerit in officio supradict. In cujus rei testimoniu has literas nras fieri fecimus patent. T. meipso apud Westmonast. Decimo quinto die Octobr anno regni octavo.”

“Of this William Paston, the Judge, is written in the old book before mençoned, as followeth.” [Here follows a copy of the obit &c. of Judge Paston, precisely similar to that which has already appeared opposite the shield of the first Wulstan de Paston. For convenience of memory it may be here repeated, that Judge Paston was born at Paston, that he died at London on the 14th of August, 1444, and that he was buried in Norwich.* The copy ends with these words: “Ex libro Willimi Botyner, Fol. xx.”]

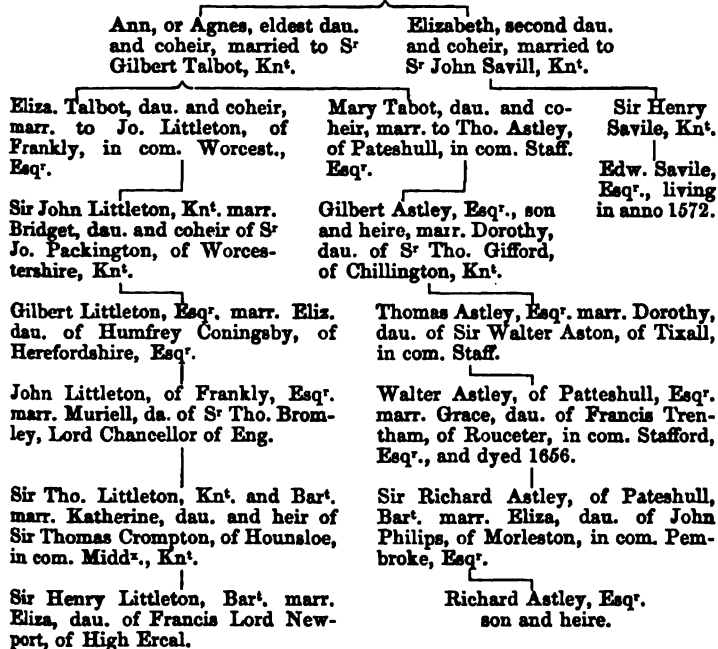
Next comes (page 13) SIR WILLIAM PASTON, Knight, the sixth son of *William Paston*, the Judge. It appears by the

* Judge Paston was buried in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in Norwich Cathedral, commonly called the Chapel of St. Mary the Great. This chapel was demolished between the years 1573 and 1589, and not a vestige of it remains. Judge Paston's wife was buried by his side.

label over his shield that he was born on the 28th of May, 1434. He married (as appears by the label over his wife's coat, viz., France modern and England quarterly, within a bordure argent and azure) Ann Beaufort, third daughter of Edmond Duke of Somerset, son of John Earl of Somerset, eldest son of John Duke of Lancaster by Katherine Swinford afterward his third wife. This page and the next page shew the descents of the marriage of this Sir William Paston and Ann Beaufort; and I subjoin a copy, in illustration of the words used by Sandford in the title-page, "that his volume would show the descents of the many illustrious houses which branch themselves from the Paston family."* Opposite this

* The descents of the marriage of Sir William Paston, the sixth son of Sir William Paston and Ann Beaufort, the third daughter of Edmond Duke of Somerset.

The above Sir William Paston—The above Ann Beaufort.



The coats of all the above are emblazoned in pages 13 and 14.

descent is the following "Coppie of a Letter from the Lady Margaret, Mother to King Hen. the seaventh," viz.

"By the King's moder.—Trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you well. And wherby the meanes of our trusty and right welbeloved S^r Reynold Bray, S^r Thomas Lovell, and S^r Henry Heydon, Kn^t, there was a full agreement made & concluded, & also put in writinge, betwen o^r trusty and right welbeloved S^r John Savile, Kn^t, and Gilbert Talbot, Esquier, on th'one ptie, and yow on th'other, for divers lands which they ought to have in the right of their wives, daughters and heyers to William Paston, Esq^r, their late fader, deceassed, which lands ye by mighty power kepe and withholde from them w^tout any just title, as they afferme; and albeit the said agreement was made by yo^r minde and consent, yet ye ne doe pforme the same, to o^r merveile if it be so. Wherefore we desier, & also counsell yow, w^tout delay upon the sight hereof now shortly to ride to the Court to the said Arbitrators now ther being, w^t whom ye shall finde yo^r adverse ptie, or other in y^r names fully authorized, to abide such final ende & conclusion in y^e p^rmisses as shall be consonant w^t the said agrem^t, w^tout further troubles or busines therin hereafter to be had; & y^t ye will thus do in any wise, So as we be not driven (through yo^r defalte) to put to o^r hands for further remedye to be had in the p^rmisses. Yeven under our signet at o^r Mannor of Colly Weston the xth day of February."

"These notes following were taken out of the old writings that are at Paston:

"In vigillia annunciaçonis S^t Marie vicesimo quarto Martii in mane an^o Dñi 1448, litera doñical D. nata est *Anna* uxor *Willimi Paston*, filia Ducis Somerset, apud Baynard Castle, London.

"In die S^u Wulstani, Episcopi & confessor^o, inter horam quintam & sextam mane, nativitas *Marie de Paston*, filie primagenit *Willi de Paston* & Dñe Anne uxor^o, sue filie Illustris Principis & Dñi Dñi Eddi Ducis Somersett, Marchionⁱ

Dorsett & Comit de Morteh, an° Dñi 1470, lita dominical G., Luna cur^o p viij: & an° řni R° Ed. 4^u nono, & xjx° die Januar^o, nativit *Margarete Paston*, fil. *Willi Paston* & Dñe *Anne* fil. Edm Ducis Sořsett, xjx° die Julii an° xiiij° Edri 4^u, vigillia S^{ta} *Margarete* (viz^t.) die Martis lit^a dominical B., an° Dñi 1474, inter horā post nonā & horam scđam (viz^t.) fere dimidiā horā ante horā secundā, luna curren, & erat clara dies. Christened y^e next day at S^t Pulchris, at 7 of the clock after noone. Godfather, Hen. Duke of Buckingham: Godmothers, Margaret Dutchess of Somersett & Ann Bye Countess Beomond."

Then comes (page 15) the coat of ELIZABETH, the *second daughter of Sir William Paston*, who was born the 1st day of July, 1429. Her coat impales: 1st, the coat of Robert Poynings, son and heir of Lord Poynings, her first husband; and, 2ndly, the coat of her second husband, Sir George Browne, of Bechworth Castle in Surrey, Knight. The first marriage connected the Paston family with the family of Percy Earl of Northumberland; and the descent and connections in the straight line of the Percy family are given in ten coats, from the marriage of Robert Poynings with Elizabeth Paston, to Lady Elizabeth Percy, "who was about seven years old in 1673." The descent and connections in the straight line of the second marriage with Sir George Browne are given in eight coats, from that marriage to Ambrose, the eldest son and heire of Sir Adam Browne, of Bechworth Castle in the county of Surrey, Bart., 1662.

We next (page 17) come to the coat of JOHN PASTON, of Paston, son and heir of William Paston the Judge, impaling the coat of Margaret his wife, the daughter and heir of John Mawtby. In the label over his coat it is stated that he was born in the year 1421.

Sandford gives a Pedigree of Mawtby so full that I feel I should not be justified if I were to omit giving a copy of it.

I am aware that a Pedigree of Mawtby is given in the third volume of our Society's Papers, page 159; but that Pedigree is almost meagre in comparison with this by Sandford. Moreover, I feel that I shall be acting rightly in keeping myself to the contents of Sandford's volume, unless I should thereby make a palpable and manifest repetition; and there is really no repetition in the copy of the MAWTBY PEDIGREE which appears *on the opposite page*.*

Of this John Paston Sandford says:

"John Paston, sonne and heire to William Paston the Judge, married Margaret Mawtebye, daughter and heir to John Mauteby, Esq^r, by w^{ch} marriage he had the Mannors of Mawtbye, Sparham, Gresham, and divers other possessions, w^{ch} S^r William Paston possesseth at this day. She came, both by father and mother, of very noble and auntient parentage: there were of her ancestors, which she did lineally descend of, of her father's side, Six Kn^{ts} of the Mautebyes and two Esq^{rs}, Robert her grandfather, and John her father; by the mother she descended of Elianor, one of the daughters and heirs to S^r Thomas Lovyn, Kn^t, of Essex. Her grandmother was Margaret Beauchamp, daughter to S^r Robert Beauchampe, Kn^t. Her last Will and Testam^t remaineth yet to be seen at Paston, sealed with two seales

* Opposite the Pedigree of Mawtby, Sandford says, "These foure coats of Marshall, Lovayne, Beauchampe, and Berney matched with Mauteby, are to be seene in the old glasse windowes in the Parlour at Paston Hall." Then follow the four coats in question, the coat of Mawtby being on the dexter side. The coat of *Marshall* is, Gules, a bend lozengy, or; of *Lovayne*, Gules, a fesse between fourteen billets, four three, four three, or; of *Beauchamp*, Gules on a fesse between six martlets, or, a mullet sable; and of *Berney*, Quarterly Azure and gules, over all a cross engrailed ermine. In these four shields, the coat of Mawtby is, Azure, a cross or; but throughout the Mawtby Pedigree, and in every other part of the volume, the Mawtby coat is blazoned Azure a cross formée, or. I feel that I have no apology to make for the constant variety in the spelling of the word Mawtby which appears in Sandford's MS. I have adopted for myself the form of spelling which he uses in the Pedigree.

The Flabtop Pedigree.

Sir Robert Claveringe,
founder of Langley, son
of Roger Claveringe, the
first Baron.

Sir John Claveringe,
Kn^t, son and heir of
Sir Robert.

Sir Roger Claveringe,
first son of Sir John,
married Isabel

Robert Claveringe,
son & heir of Roger,
marr. Margaret, dau. of
y^e Lord Zouche.

Sir John Mawby,=Elizabeth, the dau. of Ro-
bert, son of Roger, Lord
of Claveringe.

Sir Roger Mawby, Kn^t.=Ela, the dau. of Thomas
Fitz-Matthew de Lovayne.

John Mawby=Elen, dau. of Adam Clifton
de Bokenham.

Robert Mawby married=Margaret, dau of Roger de
Beauchampe of Bletnesho.

John Mawby married=Margaret, dau. of John Berney.

John Paston, of Paston in com. Norfolk, Esq., son and=Margaret, daughter and heir of John Mawby.
heir of William Paston the Judge, was borne anno 1421.

of Arms, whereof the one is the coate of Mauteby, and the other is the coate of Berry. In which Will are written these words: Item, I will that my Executors provide a stone of marble to be laid aloft upon my grave within a yeare next after my decease, and upon that stone I will have four escocheons sett at the foure corners thereof; whereof I will the first scochen shall be of my husband's armes and mine deſtred: the second of Mautebye's arms and Berneye's of Redeham deſtred: the third of Mautebye's armes and the Lord Lovyne deſtred: the fourth of Mautebye's armes and Sir Roger Beauchamp deſtred. And in the middest of the said stone I will have a scochen set of Mautebye's arms alone."

"This John Paston was Esq^r. to the body to Henry the sixth, as it doth appear by a Letter written unto him by the said Kinge, and remaineth at this day in the custody of Edward Paston, Esq^r., whereof the tenor ensueth:

"To our trusty and welbeloved John Paston, one of our Esq^{rs}. for our body, Shreife of o^r countys of Norff. & Suff.

"By the King.—Trusty and welbeloved we greet you well. And whereas we send at this time o^r trusty and welbeloved Clerke and Counseilor, Mr. Edmund Chaderton, to do & execute certain things by our co^mmandem^t in those pties, like as he can shew to you more at large. We desire & pray you that ye not only yeve unto him therein credence, but also, for the effectuell and speedy pformance of the same, ye will be unto him from time to time in every thinge, as the case shall require, adviseinge, ayinge, and assistinge as we singularly trust you, and as ye desire to do us pleasure. Yeven under o^r signet at our Mannor of Shene the xijth day of August."

Of this John Paston, Sandford goes on to say:

"This *John Paston*, sonne & heyer to William Paston the Judge, had in his time a very great suite with the Duke of

Norff. & the Duke of Suff., the Earle of Nottingham, & the Lord Scalles, for & concerninge the Mannors of Castor by Yarmouth, Heylesdon, Dreyton, and divers other Lands, which he had purchased of his cosen, Sr John Fastolfe, who not only sold him the seid Mannors & possessions, but did also nominate the said *John Paston* one of his executors, and by his last Will and testam^t bequeathed unto the said *John Paston* the said Mannors, and according to the former bargain by him made, charging and requesting the Feoffees of trust, which John Paston had named to be Feoffees of trust in the said lands, to execute an Estate to the said *John* and his heires, according to the true meaning of the former match by him with the said *John Paston* made. The which Will notwithstanding, William Yelverton and Sr Thomas Howse, parson of Blofeld, two of the said Feoffees, notwithstanding they were chosen of trust to be Feoffees in the said lands to the use of the said *John Paston*, either of envy or of malice made a feofment of the said Mannors of Castor, Heylesdon, and Dreyton, to the said Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, by color whereof the said Dukes entered into the Mannors, and expulsed the said *John Paston*, who for his remedy as a matter against conscience complained in the Chancery in the time of King Henry the sixth, where the matter being heard the right was adjudged to the said *John Paston*, and a decree made accordingly. Yet notwithstanding the said Dukes kept their possession by force, and the said *John Paston* by the like force againe sought to enter and take the said Mannors from the said Dukes, about which variance there fell out many riots and outrageous misdemeanors in the time of King Henry the Sixth; and at the last, in the time of King Edward the Fourth, when the Dukes saw they could not well by force prevayle in so wrongfull a title, they sought by the meanes of the Lord Scalles, then in great favour with the Kinge, to complaine of the said *John Paston*, not only slandering him with the reports of divers ryotts and mis-

demeanors by him committed, but also sought to defile his blood and gentility, exhibiting a most foul and scandalous bill against him, which he being called to answer, he craved of his Ma^{tie} that he might come openly to his Tryall: finally, by the King's order, both the said title and slander, or defamaçon, were openly heard by him and his Councell in the Exchequer Court, where Sir John Paston, son to the said John, did so plainly prove his title to the said Mannors and his wor^dfull discent in blood, that the King did adjudge unto him the right of the same, and did by his letters under his hand & privy signet send his warr^{ts} to command all those that had entred into the said Mannors by colour of said Dukes' right, to yeild unto the said Sir John Paston the possessions of the same; and did also in his said Letters testified how worshipfully he and his brothers had proved the lineall discent of their bloude and gentility, even from the conquest; & the Duke of Norff. and the Earl of Nottingham did, by their writinge under their hands and seales, which remaineth at this day at Paston, release unto the said John Paston all their right and title in the said Mannor of Castor, confessing and acknowledging that in mere conscience they had done him wronge."

Then follows "The coppie of a Letter written by Clement Paston to his Brother *John*, shewing the displeasure that the Kinge had conceaved against him, and of the malice of the Duke of Norff., the Duke of Suffolke, and divers others who complained to the Kinge against the said *John*."

"To his R^t reverent and worshipfull broder, *John Paston*, Esq^r., be this delivered in great haste.

"Brother, I recomende me to you after all dewe recomendaçons, &c. S^r, it was tolde me by rythe a worshipfull man that loveth you rythe well, and ye him, and ye shall knowe his name hereafter, but put all things out of doubt he is such a man as will not lye: On the xjth day of October, the Kinge

said, We have sent two privy sealys to *Paston* by two yeomen of our chamber, and he disobeyeth yēm; but we will send him anoder tomorrowe, & by God's mercye, & if he come not then, he ſhall dye for it. We will make all oder men beware by him how they ſhall disobey our writinge. A servant of our hath made a complainte of him. I cannot thinke that he hath informed us all truely, yet not for that we will not suffer him to disobey our writinge; but sitheⁿ he disobeyeth our writinge, we may beleve the better his gydinge is as we be informed: & yerwth he made a great avowe that if he come not at the third comādem^t, ye xulde dye therefore. This man that told me this is as well learned a man as any is in England; and the same xjth day of October he advised me to send a man to yow, in all the hast that might be, to lett yow have knowlache, and that ye xulde not lett for none excuse; but that ye xulde make the man good cheere, and come as hastily ye might to the Kinge, for he understandeth so much that the King will keep his promise. Notwithstanding by mine advice, if ye have his Letter, or the Messenger come to you, come to the Kinge wards or ye meet with him, & when ye come ye must be suer of a great excuse. Also if ye doe well come right stronge, for Howard's wife made her bost that if any of her husband's men might come to yow, yer yulde goe noe penny for your life. And Howard hath with the Kinge a great fellowship. This letter was written the same day that the Kinge said these words, and the same day that it was told me, and that day was the xjth day of October as abovesaid; and on the next morning send I forth a man to yow with this Letter, and on the same day send the Kinge the third privye seale to you. Also he yat tolde me this seid that it were better for yow to come up, than to be fotte out of y^r house with streingth, and to abide the King's judgement yerin, for he will take yo^r contumacy to great displeasure. Also, as I understand, the Duke of Norff. hath made a great complaint of yow to the Kinge, and my Lord of Suff., &

Howard, and Wyngfelde helpe well to every day, and call upon the King against yow. The Kinge is at this day at Grenewich, and yer will be still till the Parliament beginne. Some say he will goe to Walsingham, but M^r Sotyll seid in the Aulle in the Temple that he harde no worde of any such pilgrimage. No more, &c. Written the xjth day of October at midnight. My nevew John tolde me also that he supposed yer were out Proclamaçons against yow, &c., the same day.

“By Clement Paston yo^r broder.” *

Sandford closes his account of this John Paston in these words: viz.

“This *John Paston* and his brother William were elected Kn^{ts} of the sheire for Norff. in the last yeare of Henry the sixth; and the said *John* and John Berney of Wichingham were chosen Kn^{ts} of the said sheire the first yeare of Edward the 4th, as it doth appear by Two Indentures yet remaining to be showne testifieing the same, wherein are sett downe the names of all the Kn^{ts}, Squires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen that did subscribe to the said Elections: and about the last of the same grew the great controversie between the said *John Paston* and Howard, then Shreve of the Sheire, whereof is mençon made in the letter above written, sent to him by his brother Clement.”

Then comes (page 20) SIR JOHN PASTON, *son and heir* of the *last-named John Paston, Esq.* In the label over his shield † it is stated that he was knighted in the life-time of his father, and died sans issue. Sandford says of him:

* This very curious and characteristic letter does not appear in the “Paston Correspondence,” and has not been previously printed, as far as I am aware.

† This shield comprises for the first time all the quarterings of the Paston family, being such quarterings as appear in many subsequent parts of the volume; and especially in, 1. The shield as Viscount Yarmouth; and,

"This *Sir John Paston*, Kn^t, was in his time a man of great value & courage. He served in the warres in France, and was a great while Captaine at Callis, as it doth appeare by divers accounts of his charges and allowances from the Kinge there, which accounts remain at Paston yet to be seene.

"He was one of the best men of armes of his time; and at the great Torney that Kinge Edward the fourth helde at Eltham he was chosen of the King's side, as it doth appeare by a Letter written to his brother John Paston, wherein he writeth thus: My hand was hurte at the Torney at Eltham upon Wednesday last; I would that you had been there and seen it, for it was the goodliest sight that was sene in Inglande this forty yeares of so fewe men. There was upon the one side, within, the Kinge, my Lord Scalles, myselfe, and Sel-lenger; and, without, my Lord Chamberlyn, S^r John Wood-vyle, S^r Thomas Mountgomery, and John Aparre, &c.

"By your brother John Paston, Mil."

"He was nominated one of the Knights that was to go over with the Lord Scalles to conduct and accompany Margaret, sister to Edward the fourth, who married Charles the hardy Duke of Burgundy, as it doth appeare by a letter written from Edward the fourth unto him, whereof the tenure ensueth:

"To our trusty and welbeloved S^r John Paston, Kn^t.

"By the King.—Trusty and welbeloved, we greet yow well. And where it is accorded betwixt us and our cozen the Duke of Burgundye that he shall wedde our derrest sister Margaret, and that in shortewhile we intende to sende her into the parts of Flanders for the accomplishment and so-

2. The shield as Earl of Yarmouth. The quarterings in this shield are,
1. Paston; 2. Peche; 3. Le Leche; 4. Somerton; 5. Walcot; 6. Berrye;
7. Hengrave; 8. Watcham; 9. Hethersett; 10. Gerbridge; 11. Peyvir;
and, 12. Mawtby.

lempnizaçon of the Marriage so concluded, at the which time it behoveth her to be accompanied wth great nobility of this realme, for the honour thereof, of us, and our said sister. We therefore wele understanding and remembering the good affection ye bere towards us all, our pleasure is and our said sister, whereupon we greatly trust, desire, and pray yow right effectuously that, every excuse or delaye laide aparte, ye will dispose yourselfe to the saide intent & purpose, against the first day of June next cominge, according to y^r honour and degree, and that ye faile not so to doe, as we singularly trust yow, and as ye intend to do us justys. pleas^s. Yeven under our signet at our Mannor of Greenwich, the xvijj day of Aprill.”

“In the time of this *S^r John Paston*, the controversie continuinge still betwen him and the Duke of Norff. for the Mannor of Castor, King Edward the fourth writ unto the said *S^r John* a Letter to appeare before his Grace and his Councell for the hereinge and determininge of the said of the said controversie, whereof the coppie ensueth :

“To our trusty and welbeloved *S^r John Paston*, Kn^t.

“By the Kinge.—Trusty and welbeloved, we grete yow well. And how it be that we late addressed unto yow our letters, and comāded yow by the same, for the consideraçons in them conteined, to have ceased of makinge any assembye of our people for the matter of variance dependinge betwixt yow on that one ptie and our Right trustie and right entirely beloved cosin the Duke of Norff. on that other ; and to have appeared before the Lords of our Councell at our Palleys of Westminster, at a certeine day in our said letters specified. Yett nevertheless we understonde not as yet if ye have conformed yow to the pforminge of our said comādement, or not. We therefore eftsones write unto yow, willing and straitly charging yow to cease of the said ryotts and assemblies ; and that incontinent upon the sight of these our letters that ye dispose yow personally to appear afore the said Lords of our Councell

at our said Pallis, there to answer to such thinges as in that behalfe by them shall be laid and objected against yow, not failinge hereof, all excuses laid apte, as ye will avoide our displeasure. Yeven under our signet at our citey of Salesbury the xvij day of January."

Sandford goes on to say :

" Upon the receipt of this Letter the seid Sir *John Paston*, accordinge to the tenor thereof, did appeare before the King & his Councell in the Exchequer, where the matter was at large harde, not only concerning the title of Castor, Heylesdon, & Drayton, but also touching the matter of the defamaçon of the birth and progeny of the said S^r *John* and his ancestors ; where he did shewe most of the evidence before mençoned, and divers other evidences that never came yet to light, and were, as I suppose, burned when Paston House was burnt, in the time of old S^r William Paston, as it is to be gathered by the briefe hereunder sett downe, taken out of an olde coppie which was delivered to Edward Paston, Esq^r, by his uncle Clement Paston, amongst other old evidences and writings ; and it doth appeare by the same that it was a briefe, taken by King Edward the fourth himself, of such principall evidences and matters as was shewed before him. Upon consideration of which proofs, the Kinge did not onely adjudge his right and title to the said Mannors of Castor, Heylesdon, and Dreyton, but did also testifie what had been proved before him touching the birth and gentility of the said S^r *John* and his ancestors to have continued even from the conquest untill the time of the hearinge of the said cause, as it shall appeare by the letters of the said King hereunder set downe, and remaining yet at this day to be seen under his hand and seal. And furthermore, as touching the title to the said Mannors, the Duke of Norff. and the Earle of Nottingham, as next heires to the Duke of Norff., deceased, and the Duke of Suff., who by fraud were first infeoffed in the said Mannors, did release unto the said

S^r *John* all their right and title in the same, confessing even in mere conscience that their ancetors had done the said Sir *John* and his ancetors great wronge. As it doth appeare by the coppie of their Release hereunder sett downe, whereof the original remaineth at this day in the custody of S^r William Paston."

Then follows a copy of the above-mentioned brief, which is prefaced with these words :

"The Briefe followinge was delivered to Edward Paston, Esq^r, amonge other evidence, by his uncle Clement Paston, and it is written in an old hand.

"*They* shewed divers great evidences and Court Rolles, how that they and their ancetors had been possessed of a Court and Seniory in the Town of Paston, and of many and sundry bondmen, sithen the time that no mind is to the contrary; and how that Agnes Paston, wife to the said William Paston, father to the said John, William, and Clement, in title of her dower, is in possiõ of bondholders and also of bondmen, whose ancetors have been bondmen to the ancetors of the said John Paston sithen the time that no minde is to the contrary. And they shewed divers fines, some leavyed in the time of the begining of the reigne of our noble Progenitor Edward the first, son of Kinge Henry, son of King John, of Livelonde, whereof they and their ancetors have been possessed ever since to this day.

"*Also* they shewed divers inquests which is matters of record. Also they shewed divers deeds and grants before time of mind, how that their ancetors had licence to have a Chaplen, and have divine service within them. And that divers of their ancetors had given lyvelyhood to houses of religion to be prayed for, & confirmaçons under the great seale of our noble ancestor Kinge Henry the third, son of Kinge John, confirming the same grants.

"*Also* they shewed divers old deeds, some without date, insealed under autenticke scales, of divers p̃ticular purchases

in the Town of Paston, reciting in the said deeds that the land was holden of the ancetors of the said Paston, as of the chiefe lord of the fee, and by homage, and had ward, marriage, and reliefe. Also they shewed how their ancestors were infeoffed in divers men's mannors and lands in trust. Also they shewed a great multitude of old deeds, without date and with date, wherein their ancetors were alwaies sett first in witness, and before all other Gentlemen. Also they shewed how that their ancetors had, in old time and of late time, married with worshipfull Gentlemen; and proved, by deeds of marriage and by other deeds, how their ancetors had indowed their wives, and by discents of livelyhood, and by testaments and wills of their ancestors under seale; and made open by evident prooffe, how they and their ancetors came lineally descended of right noble and worshipfull blood, & of great Lords, sometime liveing in this our Realme of England. And also they made open prooffe how they were nere of kin and blood to many of the worshipfullest of the country, and also nere to many and sundry great estates & Lords of this Realme, and was openly proved and affirmed, without contradiction or prooffe to the contrary.

"*They* shewed how they had kept p^{ce} with divers . . . and with Plays that had wedded the Earle Warren's daughter the third yeare of Edward the first. They shewed a lineall discent how their first ancetor, Wulstan, came out of France and Sr William Glanville together, his kinsman, that after founded the Pryory of Bromholme, by the Towne of Paston and the Towne of Bentley. And how Wulstan had issue Wulstan, which bare Armes Gould flowret azure; and how he had issue Raffe and Robert; which Raffe sen^r bare armes as his Father, and Robert the younger bare silver flowret azure; and Robert had issue Edm^d and Walter, which Edmund the elder bare as his father; and his brother, because he married Glanville's daughter, a cheife indented gold, the field silver, flowret azure; and how their ancetors after bare

with lesse number ; and how Sir John Paston was heire to all those, for they died sans issue. And this was shewed by writinge of olde hand, and by old testaments and evidences."

That Sir John Paston, in his now-established right to Caister Castle, might have good friends and neighbours, King Edward the Fourth sent the following letter " unto the *Bayliffs of Yarmouth*, whereof the originall under the King's seale remaineth in the custody of Edward Paston, Esq^r : viz^t.

" By the Kinge Edward the fourth.—Trusty and welbeloved, we greet yow well : letting yow wete that our trusty and welbeloved Kn^t S^r John Paston, our welbeloved William Paston, and Clement Paston, with other, have been before us and our Councell worshipfully declared of the surmise of great charge that was laid on our behalfe unto John Paston deceased and them jointly and severally, so that we hold them and every of them sufficiently declared in that matter, and take and repute them as Gentlemen descended lineally of worshipfull blood sithen the conquest hither ; and, over that, have comāded that plena^r restitution of the Mannor of Castor, and of all other lands and tenem^{ts}, with goods and cattell, that the said John Paston deceased had of the gift and purchase of S^r John Fastolfe, Kn^t, shall wholly be restored unto our said Kn^t S^r *John Paston*, like as the said John Paston deceased had in any time of his daies. Wherefore, in as much as our said Kn^t intendeth to make his abideing in Castor, we desire and pray yow that, for our sake and contemplation, ye will be friendly and neighbours unto him in his right, and such other things as may be to his profit and ease, wherein ye shall do unto us full and good pleasure. Yeaven under our signet in our Castle of Windsore the xvijth day of July."

Then comes " the coppie of a Warrant sent from Kinge Edward the fourth to restore S^r *John Paston* to the lands and possessions which he purchased of Sir John Fastolfe, whereof the originall remaineth in the custody of Edw.

Paston, Esq^r." I do not feel it necessary to give a copy of this legal document, because its object is sufficiently set forth in the above words. It is very full and comprehensive, and is addressed "To all tēints, fermors, or occupiers of all the lands and tenements, and of every part of them, that late were John Paston's, Esq^r, now deceased, by way of inheritance, or Agnes Paston, Margaret Paston, William Paston, and Clement Paston, or any of them, and to all such persons what so they be now being in the Mannor or place of Castor, or in any lifelode that was the said John Paston, Esq^r, by way of gifte or purchase of late S^r John Fastolfe, or of any other, within our counties of Norff., Suff., and Norwich, and to all the tenants, fermors, Baylies, or occupiers of the same, and of every part thereof; and to all Mayers, Shreves, Eschetors, Bayliffs, and other our officers as well within franchise as without our counties aforesaid, hereing or seeing these our letters." The King mentions in this warrant that "great part of the said lands, tenements, and manors, had been seized into our hands;"* and the tenants, farmers, bailiffs, and occupiers of the said lands, are charged thenceforth to pay the whole issues and profits thereof to Sir John Paston; and the Mayors, Sheriffs, Escheators, and others the King's officers, are charged to be "assisting, helping, and strengthening." The warrant is "Yeven under our signet at Windsore the xxvjth day of July, the sixth yeaere of o^r reigne."

The account of the troubles of the Paston family concerning Caister Castle is finished by "a coppie of the Release which John Duke of Norff. and William Earle of Nottingham made unto S^r John Paston of the Mannor of Castor, after the controversies were determined by Kinge Edward the fourth,

* It appears from Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, Vol. XI., p. 209, on the authority of William of Worcester, that Lord Scales took possession of the Castle in the name of King Edward IV., under pretence that Paston was the King's villain. Hence the proof of Pedigree became necessary.

which Release remaineth at this day under seale in the custody of S^r William Paston," viz.:

"Johⁿes, Dux Norff. & Wiffus Comes Nottinghamie consanguin^us & heres Johⁿis nup Ducis Norff. omnibus ad quos presente litere p^rvenierint salutem. Sciatis nos ex mera conscientia n^{ra} remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino de nobis & hered n^{ris} quiet clamasse Johⁿi Paston, Ar^o, fratri & hered Johⁿis Paston, Militis, defuncti, hered & assignat suis, Totum jus, titulū, clameñ, & interess. n^{ra} que heñus huiñus sue hāere poterimus de & in manerio de Castro vocat Redehams, Vawx, & Doromes* juxta Magnā Jernamutā cum p^rtenen in com. Norff. de quib^us p^rdictus nu^p Dux injuste, & sive judicio, disseisivit p^r Johⁿem Paston, & illa manu forti tenuit. Ita quod nec nos, nec hered n^{ri}, nec aliquis alius p. nos, seu nomine n^{ro} aliquod jus seu juris titulum de & in Maner^e p^rdicto, nec in aliqua inde p^rcella de cetero exigere clamare seu vindicare poterimus in futuro, sed ab omni a^ccone juris, tituli seu clamei inde sumus exclusi in p^rpetuum p. p^rntes. In cujus rei testimon p^rntibus sigillū n^{rum} apposuimus. Dat. octavo die Februarii anno n^{ri} Rⁱ Richi tertij primo. †

"J. NORFF. NOTTINGHAM."

John Paston, Esq., the husband of Margaret Mawtby, had, besides the last-named Sir John Paston and the next-named Sir John Paston, two children, viz.: *Anne*, who married Wm.

* Query, Bozouns? There are the Manors of Reedham, Vaux, and Bozoun at Caister.

† I feel that an apology is needless for the length of my extracts respecting the controversy about Caister Castle. Blomefield's account of the controversy, and of the siege which the Castle sustained against the Duke of Norfolk at the head of 3,000 men, is but slight. Both the siege and controversy are often mentioned in the "Paston Letters." The Castle yielded, but the Duke's hatred of the Pastons was unsatisfied. The author of the charming "Sketch of the History of Caister Castle" has got together many particulars. The whole of Sandford's information about the controversy is not only new, but extremely curious.

Yelverton, "eldest son and heire of John Yelverton, Esq^r," and *Margery*, who married Richard Call, "of Bakton, in com. Norfolk, Esq^r." At page 25, are displayed the coat of Wm. Yelverton * impaling Paston, and also the coats of their children, viz.: William Yelverton, who "died without issue," and Amy Yelverton, who married James Elmes. The same page displays the coat of Richard Call † impaling Paston; the coat of their son John Call, "of Little Melton, in comitat. Norfolk, Esq^r." impaling the coat of "Christian dau. of Clipsbie, of Oby in com. Norfolk, Gentleman;" and the coat of their grandson, Richard Call, of Little Melton, impaling the coat of Edyth, daughter of Bennett. Of the marriage of Richard Call with Edyth Bennett there appears to have been six children, viz.: 1. Thomas; 2. Richard; 3. Robert; 4. John; 5. Nicholas; and, 6. Christopher.

We next come (page 26) to SIR JOHN PASTON, Knight, the *second* son of John Paston, Esq., and *brother and heir* to the last-named *Sir John Paston, Knight*. It is stated in the label over his coat that he was born in the year 1444. He married Margery Brus, daughter of Sir Thomas Brus, Knight, and his coat of twelve quarterings impales hers. ‡ Sandford gives the following copy of a letter written by King Henry VII. to this Sir John Paston, viz.:

"To our trusty and welbeloved Knight, S^r *John Paston*."

"By the Kinge.—Trusty and welbeloved we grete yow well, letting yow wete that our derest cousins, the Kinge and

* *Yelverton*: Argent, three lions rampant, gules, a chiefe of the last.

† *Call*: Or, on a fesse between two chevrons gules, three escallop shells, argent. The coat of *Clipsbie* is, Argent and sable quarterly, on a bend gules, three mullets argent. The marriage of Richard Call with Margery Paston forms a frequent, and an angry, subject in the "Paston Letters." He seems to have been often consulted as a confidential friend of the family, but he was too much beneath their dignity for a matrimonial alliance.

‡ The coat of *Brus* is, Argent, a lion rampant double queued between 13 crosses crosslet gules, ducally crowned, or.

Queene of Spaine, have signified unto us by their sundry Letters that the R^t excellent Princesse the Lady Katherine, ther daughter, shal be transported from the p̄ties of Spaine aforesaid to this our Realme about the moneth of Maye next comeinge, for the solempnization of matrimony betweene our deerest sonne the Prince and the said Princesse. Wherefore we, consideringe that it is right fittinge and necessarye, as well for the honor of us as for the lawde and praise of our said Realme, to have the said Princesse honourably received at her arriveall, have appointed yow to be one amonge others to yeve attendance for the receivinge of the said Princesse, willinge and desiringe yow to prepare yo'selfe for that intent, and so to continue in redynesse upon an houres warninge, till that by our other letters we shall advertise yow of the day and time of her arrivall, and where ye shall yeve your said attendance, & not to fayle therin as ye tender our pleasure, y^e honor of yourselfe, & of this our foresaid Realme. Yeven under our signet at our Mannor of Richmount the xx^{ty} day of Marche." *

Page 27 contains the coats of PHILIPPA PASTON, the *eldest* daughter of the last-named Sir John Paston, who married Andrew Hugard, Esq.,† and of ELIZABETH, the *second and youngest* daughter of this Sir John Paston, who married for her first husband, Robert Cleere, Esq.,‡ and for her second husband, Sir John Fineux, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.§ There are no descents from the marriage of Philippa Paston with Andrew Hugard, and of Elizabeth Paston with Robert Cleere; but from the marriage of Elizabeth, the

* This Sir John Paston was buried in the White Friars' Church, at Norwich.

† The coat of *Hugard* is, Azure, a sun, or.

‡ The coat of *Cleere* is, Argent, on a fesse azure, three eagles displayed, or.

§ The coat of *Fineux* is, Vert, a chevron between three eagles displayed, or, ducally crowned gules.

widow of Robert Cleere, with Sir John Fineux there are the following descents, viz. : 1. William Fineux, of Herne in the county of Kent, Esq., who married Friswide, daughter of Sir John Norton, Knight; 2. John Fineux, of Herne, Esq., who married daughter of Morley; 3. Sir John Smith, of Ostenhanger in Kent, Knight, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Fineux, Esq.; 4. Sir Thomas Smith, Knight of the Bath, Viscount Strangford in Ireland, who died June 30, 1635, having married Barbara, daughter of Robert Sydney Earl of Leicester; and, 5. Philip Viscount Strangford, who married Lady, daughter of Robert Sydney, second Earl of Leicester of that family. The coats of all these descents are duly blazoned.

We next come (page 28) to SIR WILLIAM PASTON, of Paston, Knight, *son and heir* of the last-named *Sir John Paston*. His coat of twelve quarterings impales the coat of Bridget his wife, the daughter of Sir Henry Heydon, Knight.* Concerning this Sir William Paston, Sandford writes:

“The warrant and letter following, under the King’s hand and seale, remains in the custody of Edward Paston, Esq^r., and were delivered to him by his uncle Clement.

“HENRY, by the grace of God Kinge of England and of France, & Lord of Ireland: To all manner of Officers, Ministers, and subjects, these our letters heringe or seinge, gretinge. Wheras we have appointed our trusty and welbeloved servant, William Paston, Esq^r., to do unto us service of warr with a certen number of men under his retinue. We let yow wete that we by these presents licence the said William to retaine such and as many of our subjects hable for the warr, as of their own free will wil be content to do unto us service at our wags, under his retinue, without any manner doñage or other danger to ensue unto him, or to any of the p̄sons by

* The coat of *Heydon* is, Quarterly, argent and gules, a cross engrailed, counter-charged.

him to be in this behalfe retayned, any act or statute made to the contrary notwithstanding. Yeven under o^r signet at our Palleyes of Westm^r the xijth day of February, the thirde yere of o^r reigne." *

"HENRY THE EIGHTH, by the grace of God Kinge of England and of Fraunce, Defensor of the faith, and Lord of Ireland: To all Justices, Mayers, Shreiffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other our Officers, Ministers, and subjects, these our letters hereinge or seinge, & to every of them, gretinge. We lett yow wete that we by these presents have authorised comāded our trusty servant, S^r WILLIAM PASTON, Kn^t, whome we have appointed to accompany and attend our r^t trusty & welbeloved the Lord Rosse, Warden of our east and middle for ageinst Scotland, and his assignee bearer hereof, to take for us and in our name, at our wags and price, in all places within this o^r Realme, as well within franchises and liberties as without such, and as many carts and horse as our seid servant or his seid assignye Berer hereof shall thinke requisite and behovefull for the spedye conveyance of all such ordnance, artillerye, & other necessaryes which we have assigned & appointed to be by him carried & conveyed unto the said Marches of Scotland,† for the better surety and defence therof at all times. Wherefore we will and comānd yow and every of yow, that unto our said servant, or his seid assignye the Bearer in the due execution of this o^r authoritye & comādemment, yow be aydinge, strengthninge, supportinge, & assistinge from time to time, as the case shall require, as yow and every of yow tender our pleasure, and will avoyde the contrary at yo^r pillis. Yeven under our signet at o^r Mannor

* Henry VIII. began his reign in April, 1509, and on the 4th February, 1512, the Parliament voted supplies for the war which had been declared against France.

† In 1523, the 14th year of his reign, Henry VIII. marched a powerful army into Scotland, for the purpose of compelling the Scots to renounce their alliance with France.

of Grenewiche the xxiiij^d of Maye, the xiiijth yere of our reigne."

Sandford adds the following copy of a letter from Henry VIII., "to our trusty and welbeloved S^r WILLIAM PASTON, Kn^t., the *Baylifes of the Town of Great Yarmouth*, and the *Baylifes of the Synk Ports*," viz. :

"BY THE KING.—Trusty and welbeloved, we grete yow well, signifeinge unto you that advertisem^t is made unto us what joÿdy we have ben in, besides the other bodilye paynes and labours we have sustayned for the preservaçon as well of the Vice Admirall belonging to our derest brother and nephew Th'empo^r & his people,* as also in the recoveringe of such ther Artillery & other goods which had ben totally lost and pished, but onely for yo^r helps & socours; for the which yo^r painfull labours and diligent acquittails herein used we yeve unto yow our hearty thanks, assuring yow, that ye have done unto us herein full thankfull service & pleasure to your great lawde and praise. Yeven under o^r signet at our Castle of Windsore the xvijth day of October."

Then comes (page 28) PHILIP PASTON, the youngest son of the last-named Sir John Paston, who married Anne, "daughter and heir of Giggs, of Norfolk." His coat impales that of his wife.† There does not appear to have been any issue of this marriage.

Then comes (page 29) CLEMENT PASTON, the *fourth* son of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*. His coat impales the coat of his wife Alice, the daughter of

* This subject is referred to at page 356 of Swinden's *History of Yarmouth*; and at pages 23 and 86 of Mr. Charles J. Palmer's edition of the *History of Yarmouth*, by Henry Manship, the elder.

† The coat of *Giggs* is, Sable, a fret argent, a chief chequy, argent and sable.

..... Pakington.* There is no issue recorded of this marriage. Of this Clement Paston, Sandford says:

"Clement Paston, fourth sonn to the abovenamed S^r William Paston, Kn^t, was a man of great stomache and courage. He served Kinge Henry the eight divers times in his warr, both by land and sea. He was at the burning of Conquet, a towne in France, when he was but a very younge man. After that he was made a Captaine of one of the Kinge's shippes of warr, and in a battell fought by sea betweene the French and English, he took a gally of the Kinge of France, and in it he took prisoner the Admirall of France, called Baron S^t Blancard, whome he brought into Inglande, and kept him at Castor by Yarmouth till he paid for his ransome seaven thousand crownes over and beside the spoile of the said gallye, where among other things he had a cuppe and two snakes of gould, which were the said Baron S^t Blancard's, the which during his life he did upon high daies weare, and after left the same as a monum^t to his name. He served at Museleborough field in Scotlande, where he received divers wounds, being left almost for dead in the field. After that he served at Newhaven, where he was Captaine of some of the Queen's shippes. The rest of his life he spent in the Court, where he was Pensioner to foure Kinges and Queens, viz^t.: Kinge Henry, Kinge Edward, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth. In his latter yeares he gave himself to live quietly in the cuntrye of Norff. where he was borne; & at a Mannor called Oxned, which was given him by his father, he built a goodly faire house, wherein he kept great hospitallie, as well for the poore as in entertaining of gentlemen of good account; where he died, after he had lived full fourscore yeres, leaving behind him great wealth, which he did very wisely bequeath by his Will to divers good and godly uses. He gave unto three sons of Edward Paston,

* The coat of *Pakington* is, Per chevron, sable and argent, in chief three mullets, or, and in base as many garbs gules.

Esq^r, his nephew, better than three hundred pounds a yeare of inheritance, and to divers of his servants six score pounds a yeare in annuities during their lives. He appointed a house to be built at Oxned for six poore servinge men, such as should hereafter serve his name, assigneing convenient londe for the maintenance of the said serving men, and so to continue for ever. He appointed himselfe to be buried in a faire tombe in Oxned Church, where he resteth, most worthy to be remembered by his name for the worthyness in him above mençoned." *

Page 30 displays the coat of JOHN PASTON, the *second* son of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* with *Bridget Heydon*. In the label over his coat it is stated that he was living in

* Clement Paston, died 18th February, 1597. Henry VIII. called him his Champion; the Protector Duke of Somerset, his Soldier; Queen Mary, her Seaman; and Queen Elizabeth, her Father. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, Vol. VI., p. 488, gives a copy of his Will. He "desires his body to be laid in the earth, in the chancel of the pariah church of Oxnead; his funeral not to be costly, nor over-sumptuous, but decent and christian-like, according to his degree and calling: a fair and convenient tomb to be made over his body, and his and his wife's arms to be engraven thereon." The tomb, which is of the altar-shape and fashion of the time, displays the figure of Clement Paston in complete armour, except that the head has no helmet, lying on a pallet. The figure of his wife kneels by the side. His own arms impaling those of his wife, and the Paston shield in all its quarterings, ornament the tomb. On the wall-piece is a long metrical display of the fame of the deceased, in which the great act of his life is thus recorded—

"A peer of France, in spite of all his betters,
He took in fight, and brought him home in fetters."

There is an etching of the tomb in the "Historical Sketch of Caister Castle." Oxnead church may be said to abound in monuments and other mementos of the Paston family; all of them neglected, and all in a state of sad decay. The "Historical Sketch" gives also an etching of Oxnead Hall when in its full splendour. It must have been a large and stately mansion, in the Elizabethan style. What remains of it, and the remains are but small, is sadly dilapidated: in sympathy, we may almost fancy, with the lost name of its former owners.

1572, and that he was of Huntingfield in the county of (*sic*) Norfolk. His first wife was, daughter of, and no coat of this first marriage impales the husband's. His second wife was Anne, daughter of Moulton;* and Bridget, the daughter and heiress by this second marriage, wedded Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, whose coat impales the coat of Paston. †

Page 30 also displays the coat of SIR THOMAS PASTON, the *third* son of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* with *Bridget Heydon*. He married Agnes, "daughter & heir to Sir John Leigh," and his coat impales hers.‡ I copy, *on the opposite page*, the descent of Sir Thomas Paston's marriage with Agnes Leigh.

Page 31 displays the shield of ANNE PASTON, the *second* daughter of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*, impaling that of her husband, Sir Thomas Tindall, Knight.§ It does not appear that there was issue of this marriage, or, rather, there is none recorded.

Page 31 also displays the coat of ELIZABETH, the *third* daughter of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*, impaling that of her husband, Sir Francis Leeke, Knight.|| Sir Francis Leeke was grandfather of Sir Francis Leeke the first Lord Daincourt and Earl of Scarsdale; and

* The coat of *Moulton* is, Barry of six, sable and argent in chief, three annulets of the second.

† Sandford gives no history or particular of the Paston Family subsequently to the time of Clement Paston, the fourth son of the marriage of Sir William Paston and Bridget Heydon.

‡ The coat of *Leigh* is, Gules a cross, within a bordure engrailed argent.

§ The coat of *Tindall* is, Argent a fesse dancettée gules, in chief three crescents, gules.

|| The coat of *Leeke* is, Argent on a saltire engrailed, nine annulets, or.

Descent of the Marriage of Sir Thomas Paston and Agnes Leigh.

Sir Thomas Paston, Knight, third=Agnes, daughter and heir to son of Sir William Paston, Knight. | Sir John Leigh.

Katherine, married to Henry Newton, of Hartery, in com. Somerset, father of Sir Theodore Newton, Knight.

Edward Paston, Esq., posthumous son=Margaret, dau. of Sir Thomas Berney, of Reedham, in com. Norff., Kn^t. and heir, godson to K. Edw 6; born about 1550, and dyed 1630.

Thomas Paston, Esq., eldest son, married Mary, dau. of St George Brown, of Shefford, in com. Berks.

Katherine, eldest dau. unmarried.

Anne, 2^d dau. marr. to St Henry Waldegrave, of Stanninghall, in com. Norff., Bart.

William Paston, 2^d son, marr. Agnes, or Anne, dau. & coheir of Wm. Everard, of Linsted, in com. Suff.

Clement, third son, died unmarried.

Edward Paston, 4th son, marr. Frances, dau. of St John Sydenham, of Brimpton, in com. Somerset, Kn^t.

John Paston, 6th son, died unmarried.

Wolstan Paston, 6th son, now living in May, 1674.

Anne, dau.=Clemens Paston=Dorothy, dau. of John Plumpton, in com. York, Esq., 2^d wife.

Thomas Paston, Frances Paston, Katherine, Edward, William Paston, Margaret, only dau. and heir of Edward Paston, mar. to St Henry Bennifield, of Oxborow, in com. Norfolk, Bart.

Thomas Paston, 2^d son, alaine in Yorkshire, in the service of K. Chas. the First.

Frances Paston, 2^d daughter, mar. to Tho. Talbot, of Worfield, in James Law-son, mar. ried.

Edward Paston, 2^d son, eldest son, mar. ried.

William Paston, 2^d son, eldest son, mar. ried.

Elizabeth, eldest dau., marr. to Rich. Townley, of Townley, in Lancashire.

Mary, 2^d dau., marr. to John Savile, of Copley, in Yorkshire, Baronet.

Dorothy, 3^d dau. unmarried.

Edward Paston, 2^d son, about the age of 14 years, an^o 1674.

Clement Paston, 2^d son, about the age of 11 years, an^o 1674.

Anne, 4th dau. unmarried.

William Paston, eldest son, about the age of 11 years, 1674.

Mary, eldest daughter.

• This name is written *Vernay* both in the Pedigree and above; but there is a marginal note by Sandford in this page of the MS. that the name should be Berney, and I have therefore adopted it.

the descent of the marriage of Sir Francis Leeke with Margaret Paston is given in the direct male line, together with the alliances, to Robert Lord Daincourt, son and heir of Nicholas Earl of Scarsdale, who married Mary, second daughter and coheir of Sir John Lewis, of Ledston, in Yorkshire, Baronet.

In page 32, we have the coat of MARY PASTON, the *fourth* daughter of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*, impaling the coat of her husband, Sir John Chaworth, Knight.* There appears to have been no issue of this marriage: at least none is recorded.

Page 32 also displays the coat of MARGARET PASTON, the *fifth* daughter of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*, impaling the coat of her husband, John Leeke,† the second brother of the above-mentioned Sir Francis Leeke. No issue is recorded of this marriage.

Page 33 has the coat of ELEANOR PASTON, the eldest daughter of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* and *Bridget Heydon*, impaling the coat of her husband, Thomas Earl of Rutland,‡ who in the label over his coat is described as the "son of George Mannors Lord Roos, by Anne, daughter of S^r Thomas S^t Leger, Kn^t., & Anne Dutchess of Exeter, sister to King Edw. 4." From this marriage there is a long line of descents extending to six pages, and illustrated by forty-nine coats of arms, of noble families having a share of

* The coat of *Chaworth* is, Azure, two chevrons or.

† The coat of *Leeke* is, I need not say, like that described above, but differed by a crescent.

‡ The coat of *Mannors* is, Or, two bars azure, a chief quarterly azure and gules; on the first and fourth two fleurs-de-lis or; on the second and third a lion of England.

Paston blood. I do not feel it necessary to enter upon the particulars of these descents. Let it suffice for me to say, that in the descents from this marriage of Eleanor Paston with Thomas Earl of Rutland, are comprised the noble families of Capel Earl of Essex, Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Howard Duke of Norfolk, Howard Earl of Norwich, Nevill Lord Abergavenny, Fane Earl of Westmorland, Savage Earl Rivers, Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Fortescue, Cecil Earl of Exeter, Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Watson Lord Rockingham, Annesly Earl of Anglesey, and Ashley Earl of Shaftesbury. The descents appear to be carried down to the time when Sandford compiled his book.

We now (page 38) come to ERASMUS PASTON, the eldest son and heir of the marriage of his father, *Sir William Paston*, with *Bridget Heydon*. His coat, of the twelve quarterings, impales the coat of his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Windham, of Felbrigge, in the county of Norfolk, Knt.* From this marriage follow the descents and coats of Thomas Paston, a younger son, who died without issue, and of Edmund Paston, another younger son, who also died without issue; and then follow the coats of the daughters of this marriage, impaling the coats of their husbands, viz.: Eleanor or Anne, the eldest daughter, who married Edward Echingham; Frances, the second daughter, who married Thomas Grosse, Esq.; and Gertrude, the youngest daughter, who married William Reade, of Norwich, Esq.†

* The coat of *Windham* is, Azure, a chevron between three lions' heads erased, or. Erasmus Paston and Mary Windham, his wife, are both buried at Paston.

† The coat of *Echingham* is, Azure, a fret argent; of *Grosse*, Quarterly argent and azure, on a bend sable, 3 martlets, or; and of *Reade*, Azure, on a bend wavy argent, three Cornish choughs proper within a bordure engrailed charged with torteaux.

In page 40, we have the coat of SIR WILLIAM PASTON, Knight,* the eldest son and heir of the marriage of his father, *Erasmus Paston, Esq.*, with *Mary Windham*. His coat impales the coat of his wife, Frances, the daughter of Sir Thomas Cleere, of Stokesby, in Norfolk, Knight.† From this marriage follow the descents and coats of Wulstan, the second son, who died without issue, and of Anne Paston, who married Sir George Chaworth, of Wiverton, in the County of Nottingham, Knight.‡ Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of the marriage of Sir George Chaworth and Anne Paston, married Sir William Cope, of Hanwell, in the county of Oxford, Knight; and of this marriage of Sir William Cope with Elizabeth Chaworth, the descent is carried (but in a different hand) to Sir John Cope, of Hanwell, Baronet, who was living in the year 1690.

We then come (page 41) to CHRISTOPHER PASTON, Esq., the eldest son and heir of the marriage of his father, *Sir William Paston*, with *Frances Cleere*. He married Anne, “daughter of Phillipp Audley, of Palgrave, in com. Norfolk, Esq., son and heir of Edmond Audley.” Christopher Paston’s coat of twelve quarterings impales the coat of his wife. §

On the same page (41) is the coat of SIR EDMUND PASTON, Knight, the son and only child of the marriage of *Christopher*

* Sir William Paston founded the Grammar School at North Walsham, and lies buried in the church there under a beautiful monument. His hatchment is to be found in Yarmouth church, in remembrance of a lasting benefaction to the poor of that town.

† The coat of *Cleere* is like that described above, viz., Argent, on a fesse azure, three eagles displayed, or.

‡ The coat of *Chaworth* is similar to that described above, viz., Azure, two chevrons, or.

§ The coat of *Audley* is, Quarterly, first and fourth gules a fret or, and second and third ermine a chevron gules, differenced by a crescent.

Paston with *Anne Audley*. Sir Edmund Paston's coat, of twelve quarterings, impales the coat of his wife, Katherine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Knyvet, of Ashwelthorpe, in the county of Norfolk, Knight.*

Page 42 displays the coat of SIR WILLIAM PASTON, Baronet,† eldest son of the marriage of the last-named *Sir Edmund Paston* and *Katherine Knyvet*. Sir William Paston's coat, of twelve quarterings, impales the coat of his wife, Lady Katherine Bertie, daughter of Robert Earl of Lindsay, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Lord High Chamberlain, &c.‡

At page 43, is the coat of THOMAS PASTON, the second son of the marriage of *Sir Edmund Paston* with *Katherine Knyvet*. It is stated that he died without issue.

I return to page 42 for the coat, of twelve quarterings, of SIR ROBERT PASTON, Knight and Baronet, the eldest son of the marriage of his father, *Sir William Paston*, with *Lady Katherine Bertie*.§ In the label over his coat, of twelve quarterings, it is stated that he was born 29th May, 1631, and that, on the 19th of August, 1673, he was created BARON PASTON OF PASTON and VISCOUNT YARMOUTH. His coat impales the coat of Rebecca, his wife, who is described as being

* The coat of *Knyvet* is, Argent, a bend sable within a bordure engrailed of the same, differenced by a crescent, or. Katherine Knyvet is buried at Paston.

† Sir William Paston was created a Baronet 8th June, 1641. He was buried at Paston.

‡ The coat of *Bertie* is, Argent, three battering-rams barwise, in pale sable, headed azure, horned and garnished, or.

§ The younger children of the marriage of *Sir William Paston* with *Lady Katherine Bertie*, are given at page 43, as follows: viz., William Paston, second son, born at Oxnead, March 10, 1633; John Paston, third son, born May 26, 1635; Elizabeth Paston, born July 3, 1629; Katherine Paston, born December 22, 1632; and . . . Paston, born December 22, 1636.

the second daughter of Sir Jasper Clayton, Knight, and Mary, his wife, the daughter of William Tompson, of Tinmouth Castle, in the county of Northumberland.* The descents of this marriage are given as in the Pedigree, and therefore there is no need to repeat them. Coats are blazoned for all the children. It is stated of Hieronimo Alberto di Conti, who married Margaret, the eldest daughter, that he was a noble Venetian, and that he "derived from Pietro Francisco Alberto di Conti, created Earle and Palatine of the Lateran Palace and the Imperial Consistory, by the Emperor Frederic III., 5th June, 1452, and first year of his empire." †

The writing of the next page (page 44) is evidently in a different hand from all that has gone before, but the blazonry of the coats would seem to be by the same artist. In 1679, being five years after the completion of the early part of Sandford's labours, Robert Viscount Yarmouth was raised to the dignity of Earl of Yarmouth, and, in consequence of this addition to the family honours, his and his wife's coats are again displayed, surmounted by an Earl's coronet. It is stated in the label over his coat that he was Lord Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Norfolk, and that he died March 8, 1682. ‡

Of the *younger* children of the marriage of Robert, first

* The coat of *Clayton* is, Argent, a cross engrailed sable between four torteaux.

† The coat of *di Conti* is, Quarterly gules and argent.

‡ There is a large and well-known engraving, by Vanderbanc, of Robert Earl of Yarmouth. Granger (*Biographical History of England*,) gives the following account of him, viz. : "Robert Earl of Yarmouth, son of Sir Wm. Paston, of Oxnead, by Catherine, daughter of Robert Bertie Earl of Lindsey, possessed many virtues as well as ornamental and amiable qualities, and was one of the most learned and polite among the nobility. He was so zealous a cavalier, that he, in his father's lifetime, distressed himself to supply Charles II. with money in his exile. He was so devoted to the court that he was threatened with an impeachment by the popular party, though they had nothing material to lay to his charge, and no man was more capable of defending himself to advantage. About eight years before his death he was attacked

Earl of Yarmouth, with Rebecca Clayton, it is merely said in the labels over their coats, that *Robert Paston*, the second son, married, 1. Hester, daughter of Sir William Mainwaring, Knight, slain in the service of King Charles I. in the defence of the city of Chester; and, 2. Anne, daughter and coheir of Philip Harbour, Esq., son and heir of Sir Charles Harbour, Knight, of neither of which marriages is any issue recorded; that *Jasper Paston*, the third son, died without issue; that *John Paston* and *Edmond Paston*, the fourth and fifth sons, were dead; that *Thomas Paston*, the sixth son, married Dorothy, the fourth daughter and coheir of Edward Darcie, Esq., and widow of Sir William Rooksby, Knight, and was drowned at sea, leaving issue a son, Robert Paston, who was captain of a man of war, and Rebecca Paston, who married Sir Stafford Fairbone, Knight, an admiral; that there was issue of the marriage of Margaret Paston, the eldest daughter, and Hieronimo Alberto di Conti; and that the remaining daughters, viz., *Mary Paston*, *Katherine Paston*, and *Elizabeth Paston*, died all three unmarried.

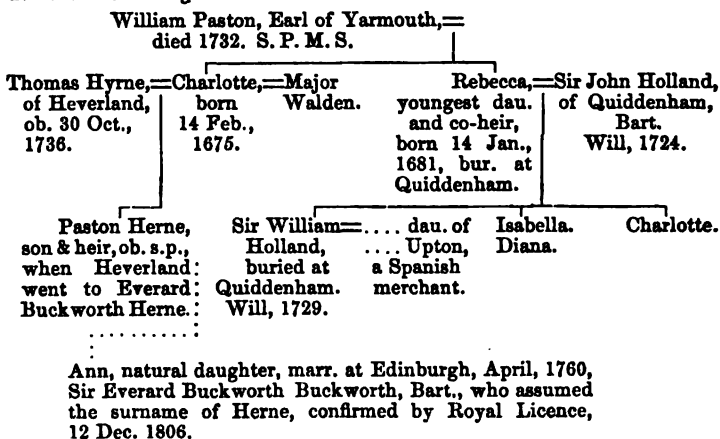
We next come, at page 44—and here the genealogical part of the MS. closes—to the coat of WILLIAM EARL OF YARMOUTH, the eldest son of the marriage of his father, *Robert Earl of Yarmouth*, with *Rebecca Clayton*. He was Treasurer of the Household to King James II. and died in December, 1732, having married, for his first wife, Charlotte Jemima Henrietta Maria, natural daughter of King Charles II. by Viscountess Shannon, who died in 1684; and, 2. Elizabeth, the third daughter of Dudley Lord North, of Cartlage, the

by several ruffians, who shot five bullets into his coach, and one into his body. He had such a sense of his providential escape, that he solemnly kept an anniversary thanksgiving upon that day, to the end of his life. He was exemplary in the duties of religion, and expressed a strong sense of it at the approach of death. He died on the 8th of March, 1682, aged 51 years, and was buried at Oxnead."

relict of Sir Robert Wiseman, Knight, Doctor of Civil Law.* The following issue is recorded of the first marriage, viz., Charles Lord Paston, eldest son, "born in the King's palace at Whitehall 29 May, 1673, to whom were godfathers King Charles II. and the Duke of York, and the Viscountesses Yarmouth and Shannon godmothers;" William Paston, second son, "born 1677, deceased in his father's life without issue;" William Paston, third son, "born 1682, deceased in the life of his father without issue;" Lady Charlotte Paston, borne 14th February, 1675, "married Thomas Hyrne, Esq., of Heverland in Norfolk;" and Lady Rebecca Paston, born 14th January, 1681, "married Sir John Holland, Baronet, of Quiddenham in the county of Norfolk." Charles Lord Paston died in his father's lifetime; and thus, the male issue of Robert Paston, the first Baron Paston, Viscount Yarmouth, and Earl of Yarmouth, having failed, those titles became extinct.†

* No coat is given for the *first* wife of William Earl of Yarmouth, who appears to have been sometimes called Boyle and sometimes Fitz Roy before her marriage. The coat of *North*, the second wife, is Azure, a lion passant, or, between three fleurs-de-lis argent.

† I am indebted to Sir Charles George Young, Garter, for the following descent of the daughters of William Earl of Yarmouth: viz.



The remaining contents of the MS. will have but a short notice. Page 53 displays the Paston coat with its supporters, and a copy of the certificate of Sir R. St George, Clarenceux King of Arms, dated 20th February, 1634, that William Paston, Esq., the chief heir male of the family, and the chief heir male of the family successively, may have such supporters. Page 55 has a copy of the Patent of Peerage for the dignities of Baron Paston and Viscount Yarmouth, dated 29th August, 25 Charles II. Page 57 displays the Paston coat of twelve quarterings, surmounted with a Viscount's coronet. Pages 60 and 61 display the paternal and maternal ancestors of Robert the first Viscount to the time of Sir William Paston, his great great grandfather. These pages are enriched with thirty-one coats. Page 63 has a copy of the Patent of Peerage for the dignity of Earl of Yarmouth, dated 30th July, 31 Charles II. Page 65 displays the Paston coat, of twelve quarterings, surmounted by an Earl's coronet. Page 67 has the copy of a Deed of Sale, from Richard the son of Ralph de Paston, of certain pieces of Land at Paston. The deed is without date: on the seal is a fleur-de-lis with the words "SL. RICARDI DE PASTUNNE" round it. Page 68 has another copy of a Deed of Sale, from the same Richard the son of Ralph de Paston, with the like seal and superscription. At page 70 we have the copy of a speech made by Sir Robert Paston, afterwards Lord Yarmouth, in Parliament, in 1665, on moving a vote for two millions and a half to enable King Charles II. to prosecute the Dutch war.* Page

* The speech is brief, earnest, and well prepared; and at the end is the following note in a hand-writing similar to that which occurs at pp. 44 and 45 of the MS., viz: "The House of Commons upon this speech passed a vote for the said summe of two millions and an halfe, and ordered that S^r Robert Paston should have the honour to present the Bill to his Majesty in the House of Lords, which he did accordingly with his own hands. And the same night the King sent for him to Whitehall, and in his bed-chamber expressed to the said S^r Robert Paston all the kindness imaginable for this

71 has a copy of the King's Warrant to Robert Viscount Yarmouth, under the "Act for Ordering the Forces in the several Counties in this Kingdom;" and from pages 72 to 76 is a copy of the King's Commission to Robert Viscount Yarmouth, as Vice-Admiral of the County of Norfolk. The remaining pages are occupied with an index of names: and thus ends my account of the contents of the MS.

This beautiful volume is bound in blue velvet. In the fly-leaf is the following note, viz.: "this book is the property of Marmaduke Tunstall, of Wycliffe, in the County of York, Esq., he having lent it to me, Ralph Bigland, Garter Principal King of Arms." Under the note are these words, "Presented by Marmaduke Tunstall, Esq., to John Cade, 1789." Mr. Cade's book-plate is in the usual place within the cover. The Duke of Newcastle is not aware of the time when his late father added this volume to the splendid collection of books and MSS. at Clumber.*

When I began this paper, it was, I may repeat, my intention to confine myself to the contents of Sandford's MS. I have broken through my intention by giving some few notes of my own, because I thought them in a degree necessary. As I went on, I felt inclined to add more notes,

his great service to the Crown." Mrs. Macaulay (*History of England*, Vol. VI., p. 179) says of Sir Robert Paston on this occasion, "that Ministers could only find this one tool who would venture to make the motion;" but she admits that the minority against the vote was insignificant.

* I observe with pleasure that the Duke of Newcastle has a good share of Paston blood; his Grace's maternal ancestor, Catherine, the eldest daughter and coheir of the Right Honorable Henry Pelham, being a grand-daughter of John second Duke of Rutland, who was a lineal descendant of the marriage of Thomas Earl of Rutland and Eleanor Paston, the eldest daughter of Sir William Paston and Bridget Heydon. Eleanor Paston died in 1551. Neither Mr. Pelham, nor Lady Catherine Manners his wife, was born when Sandford compiled his genealogy.

and thereby to enlarge the history of the long Paston line with all the information that I could meet with. It is possible, that by so doing, I might have made this dry paper (but all genealogical papers must be dry) more acceptable to the members of our Society, and more worthy of the Duke of Newcastle's kindness. If there ought to be more notes, I must apologize for the few I have given; but perhaps the best course would be that I should apologize for giving any.

It was my wish to have furnished a specimen of the heraldic illustrations, but I found a selection difficult, if not impossible. I have given the tinctures of every coat which bore upon the direct line of Pedigree.

I may add that on the death of William Earl of Yarmouth in 1732, all his broad ancestral acres were sold, and his rich effects passed into other hands. The Paston family, once so numerous and powerful in the eastern part of Norfolk, and which is recorded by probably more frequent monuments and sepulchral brasses than any other family in the kingdom, is now believed to be nearly extinct, or may soon become so, unless some rising Sandford should gather up the scattered fragments of evidence, and re-connect the Pedigree.

FRANCIS WORSHIP.

Great Yarmouth,
January, 1852.

P.S.—I ought to have stated, in my mention of the grant of twelve pence by Richard the son of Ralphe de Paston, to God and the Church of St. Andrew of Bromholme and the Monks there (page 6), that such rent-charge was to be for ever employed in keeping the Church-books in repair: “ad emendaçon libror⁹ dict ecclie de Bromholme.” F. W.



NOTICE OF THE

Common Seal of the White Friars of Lynn.

BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M. A., HON. SEC.

THE Seal, of which a representation is here given, was obtained too late for the Lynn Meeting; but from its interest in connection with that town, it has been thought desirable that a notice of it should be given to the Society. No impression is known to remain at Lynn, and an engraving of it has never hitherto appeared. The original is in the possession of Miss Wickins, of the Close, Salisbury, where it was exhibited at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1849. It was described as having been dug up in the Isle of Thanet, and formerly belonged to the father of the present owner, who was a collector of curiosities, and possessed also a covered tankard of wood, once Sir Isaac Newton's, of which he sent an account to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1802, p. 316. The editors of the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* appear to have been acquainted with the existence of the Seal, as an impression, in the hands of one of them, is mentioned in Vol. VI., p. 1573: but no description is given of it. It was probably in Caley's collection of impressions, now at Middle Hill; for in the Catalogue of his Drawings of Seals is the following item: No. 746, "Drawing from the Common Seal of Lynne White Friars, by Howlett, very fine; Founded



1



2



3

Etched by H. N. N. N. N.

1. SEAL OF THE CARMELITES OF LYNN.

2. SECRETUM OF ROGER BIGOD. 4th EARL OF NORFOLK. (P. 92)

3. SEAL OF ROBERT DE MONTALT OF RISING.



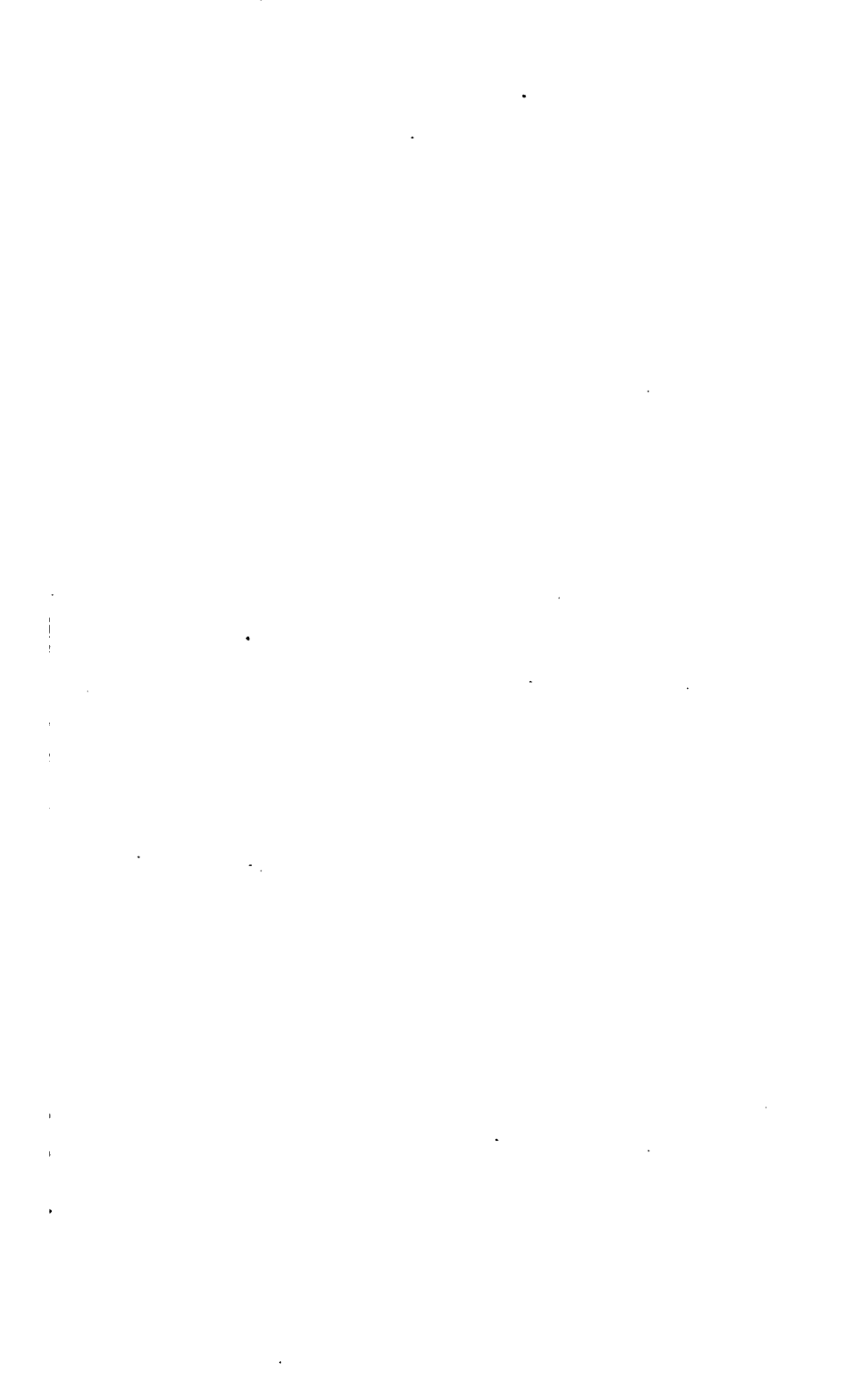
ante 45 Hen. III.” The catalogue does not further describe it, but there can be little doubt that it is the same. For the above particulars I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Albert Way.

The House of the Carmelite or White Friars of Lynn was situated in All Saints’ parish, or South Lynn. The only remaining portion of it is a Gateway of the thirteenth century, in Friars Street. It is stated by Speed to have been founded by Lord Bardolf, Lord Scales, and Sir John de Wigenhale, Knt., in 1269. Other authorities say that these were only benefactors, and that the founder was Thomas de Folsham or Feltham, who also founded the Grey Friary in 1264.* The latter account would appear to be the more correct, as in 1260 William de Breton was a benefactor to the White Friars. The character of the Seal is of about this period, and is well worthy to be perpetuated by an engraving. It is circular, and contains a double niche, with pinnacles and trefoiled canopies, supported on a basement of masonry. Within are two full-length figures looking towards each other; one representing the Virgin and Child, and the other S. Margaret, with her cross-staff piercing the dragon. Above the canopies are the star and crescent, or sun and moon, so common in ancient seals, and in other works in metal, the meaning of which has not been fully investigated: it may be that they have a reference to the trade or fraternity concerned in their manufacture; but it appears to me more probable that it was simply a method of denoting the sky or heavens in the background, on the principle of a part for the whole, a common conventional practice in mediæval design generally. The legend round the Seal is as follows: s’ COMMVN’ FRÛM D’ CARMELO LEN’—“*The Common Seal of the Carmelite Friars of Lynn.*” The style and character of the whole are much in accordance with the Town Seals of Lynn, and, in

* Taylor’s *Index Monasticus*, p. 41.

both, the figure of S. Margaret occupies a conspicuous position, as the patron Saint of the town. It is one proof, among many others, of the value of the Local Meetings of our Archæological Societies, that they bring to light objects of interest, such as the present, in connection with county history and antiquities, which might otherwise lie forgotten in some distant quarter, and never be made available to illustrate the scene and period to which they properly belong.





CASTLE RISING.

BY

HENRY HARROD, Hon. Sec.

At the Lynn Meeting in 1849 an excursion was made by the Members of the Society to Castle Rising, when Papers on the History and Antiquities of the Castle were read: it was never, however, intended that the subject should there rest, but that further investigations should be prosecuted whilst the matter was fresh on the mind.

One of the objects of such excursions to celebrated ruins is, to bespeak the attention of Archæologists to them, that a desire may be excited for further inquiry after original information respecting them, and that errors, which may have been made when such subjects were less understood and documents not so readily accessible as at present, may be detected and corrected. And although such researches may not in every instance be very fruitful, still none, zealously conducted, can be altogether barren: some points of importance are almost certain to have been overlooked, some things to have been misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Mr. A. Swatman's Paper, on the Descent of the Castle and Honour of Rising, will shortly appear in the pages of our Journal; meantime, I would lay before the Society some documentary evidence relating to the Castle and its History which has come to my hands, and make a few observations upon it, and also upon the construction and arrangement of

the Castle Buildings. At the same time I should state, with respect to the documents of most importance,—those furnished me for the purpose of assisting in the elucidation of an historical question of much interest,—that I can claim no credit for bringing them into public notice.

Shortly after the meeting, a series of extracts from the Patent Rolls was kindly forwarded to us by Sir Francis Palgrave, through Mr. Dawson Turner, V. P., all having reference to one particular portion of the History of Rising—the supposed imprisonment and death of Queen Isabella there.

It will doubtless be remembered that Rising has been most usually pointed out, both by the early chroniclers and modern historians, as the place of imprisonment and of the death of Isabella, queen of Edward II. After Mortimer's execution, on the 29th November in the 4th year of Edward the Third's reign, we are told that "the Queen Mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her Castle of Rising, where she spent the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. Edward, however, paid her a respectful visit at least once a year, and allowed her £3,000, and afterwards £4,000, for her annual expences." It is remarkable that Blomefield, who repeats the story of her twenty-seven years' imprisonment and death at this place, prints, but a few pages further on, Letters Patent under her hand, appointing John de Herling Constable of Rising, dated from her "Castle of Hertford," in the 20th year of Edward III.

Miss Strickland quotes and adopts the account of Froissart much to the same effect, adding, that "Castle Rising was the place where Queen Isabella was destined to spend the long years of her widowhood;" that "during the first two years her seclusion was most rigorous, but in 1332 her condition was ameliorated," and quotes a notice of a "Pilgrimage to Walsingham" from the Lynn Records; and her account of her thus concludes: "Isabella died at Castle Rising, August 22nd, 1358, aged 63. She chose the church of the Grey Friars,

where the mangled remains of her paramour Mortimer had been buried eight-and-twenty years previously, for the place of her interment; and, carrying her characteristic hypocrisy even to the grave, she was buried with the heart of her murdered husband on her breast. King Edward [gave his mother a pompous funeral,* and] issued a precept to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, November 20th, to cleanse the streets from dirt and all impurities, and to gravel Bishopsgate Street and Aldgate against the coming of the body of his dearest mother, Queen Isabella, and directs the officers of his Exchequer to disburse £9. for that purpose. Isabella was interred in the Choir of the Grey Friars within Newgate, and had a fine alabaster tomb erected to her memory.”†

Such is the latest account of this miserable woman’s end; but Mr. A. H. Swatman, whose acquaintance with the Records of the Corporation of Lynn is most extensive and accurate, stated at the Lynn Meeting in 1849, his belief that she never was a prisoner at Rising, for that he found she occasionally travelled to other parts of the kingdom, once even to London; that she had been at Northampton, Walsingham, and Langley; and he further added, that although she was at Rising the year before her death, he did not consider it probable she died there, from the absence of all record of the event, or of funeral preparations, or the payment of expenses about them, in the Lynn Records; and Mr. Swatman was correct in both these statements.

The earliest of the extracts furnished from the Patent Rolls bears date the 21st December, 1330, a month after Mortimer’s death, and is addressed to certain gentlemen, directing them to form an escort for Edward’s “dearest mother,” and to take up horses for her use in her journey from Berkhamstead, where she then was, to Windsor, where he desired her presence during the Feast of Christmas.

* This statement is omitted in the last edition, 1851.

† *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1851, Vol. I., p. 540.

Pat. p. 2,
4 Edw. III.
m. 16.

} D intendendo Thome } & Comitibz, Baronibz, Mil-
 } Wake ⁊ aliis. } itibz, Vicecomitibz, Baffis
 } Ministris, ⁊ aliis fidelibz

suis tam infra libertates q^am ext^a ad quos ꝑc. Saltm,
 Sciatis qđ cum ordinavim⁹ qđ Isabella Regina
 Anglⁱ, mat^r n^ra carissima in instanti festo Natalis
 Dñi apud Wyndesore, comoret^r ⁊ ea de causa
 ditcos ⁊ fideles n^{ros}, Thomam Wake, Ebulone
 Lestraunge, Wiffm de Bohun, ⁊ Edwardū de
 Bohun, ad ipam matrem n^{ram}, apud Berkham-
 stede, jam morantem miserim⁹ ut eidem m^{ri} n^{re}
 comitivam faciant usq^{ue} ad dcm locū de Wyndesore,
 put eis p nos plenius est injectū vob mandam⁹,
 qđ eisdem Thome, Ebuloni, Wiffo, ⁊ Edwardo, ⁊
 eorū cuilibet in hiis que pmissa contingunt inten-
 dentes sitis consulentes ⁊ auxiliantes quociens, ⁊
 quando p ipos seu eorū aliquem, sup hoc ex pte
 n^ra fuitis pmuniti. In cujus, ꝑc., T. & apud
 Westm, xxj die Decemb^r.

P ipm Regem ⁊ coñs.

From the pages of the new edition of the *Fœdera* I have
 extracted the opening statement of Letters Patent of the 29th
 March, 6th Edward III., whereby the sum of £3,000 was
 granted to her for her life, and charged upon certain manors,
 lands, and ferm-rents of various burghs, she having “nuper
 simpliciter et sua spontanea voluntate” given up her dowry
 lands to the King.

1332,
 6 Edw. III.
 Vol. II. p. 2.
 835.
 29 March.

} Pro Isabella Regina Angliæ, matre Regis.
 } Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod cum
 } Isabella Regina Anglⁱ mater nostra carissima, *nuper sim-*
 } *pliciter et sua spontanea voluntate*, reddidisset in manum
 } nostram omnia castra, villas, maneria, terras, tenementa et
 } redditus, tam ea quæ tenuit in dotem seu dotalicium ex
 } assignacione domini E nuper Regis Anglⁱ patris nostri,
 } quam ea quæ tenuit ad terminum vitæ suæ, ex assignacione

nostrā; ac nos post modum, ad statum ipsius matris nostræ consideracionem habentes de assensu prælatorum, comitum, baronum et aliorum magnatum in Parlamento nostro, anno regni nostri quarto, apud Westm^r habito, existencium, concesserimus eidem matri nostræ tria milia librarum pro sustentacione suâ, ad terminum vite sue ad scaccarium nostrum annuatim percipiend': &c. &c.

The succeeding extracts from the Patent Rolls, extending from the 5th to the 22nd Edward III., indicate various arrangements respecting the payment of her dower, dictated rather by the King's necessities than by any other consideration; and also show her making exchanges, and disposing of and managing her property in various parts of the Kingdom.

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain castles, manors, lands, and
5 Edw. III. } tenements, therein specified, of the value of £2,000, in part
p. 2, m. 2. } satisfaction of the dower and the sum of £3,000 given her
for her support. Windsor, 16 Nov. (5 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant of Queen Isabella of certain castles, manors, lands, and
5 Edw. III. } tenements, therein specified, to the value of £1,000 (with
p. 2, m. 6. } the castles, manors, &c., of the value of £2,000) in lieu of
her dower and the sum of £3,000 granted her for her support.
Clarendon, 6 Dec. (5 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Regrant to Queen Isabella of the county of Ponthieu and
8 Edw. III. } Monstroille, with all castles, &c., thereunto belonging, for-
p. 2, m. 3. } merly granted to her by King Edward the Second.
Westminster, 23 Sept. (8 E. III.)*

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of the manors of Fasteerne and Wotton,
8 Edw. III. } co. Wilts, in lieu of an annual farm of a hundred pounds of
p. 2, m. 3. } the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and a farm of 46s. 10d.
of the town of Ipswich.
Roxburgh, 13 Dec. (8 E. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the castles,
8 Edw. III. } manors, lands, and tenements given her in lieu of her dower
p. 1, m. 26. } of £3,000. York, 1 March (8 Edw. III.)

* New Edition of "*Fœdera*," Vol. II., p. 2., fol. 893, this regrant given at length, dated 24th September.

Rot. Pat. } Insuperimus and Confirmation of a Deed, by which Isabella,
9 Edw. III. } Queen of England, grants to Robert de Morlee the manor of
p. 1, m. 3. } Framesden, co. Suffolk, in exchange for certain manors, &c.,
which he inherited by the death of Robert de Montalt.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24 June (9 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the manors of
9 Edw. III. } Fasteerne and Wotton, co. Wilts, given to her in lieu of an
p. 1, m. 18. } annual farm of a hundred pounds of the town of Newcastle-
upon-Tyne, and a farm of 45s. 10d. of the town of Ipswich.

York, 25 May (9 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Licence to Queen Isabella to make a testamentary disposition
10 Edw. III. } of all her goods and chattels; with power to her executors
p. 2, m. 26. } to receive for one year after her death the rents and profits
arising from the manors, lands, &c. granted to her by the
King during her life, for the execution of the Will.

Leicester, 1 October (10 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of £1,500, which, with certain manors,
11 Edw. III. } &c., of the value of £3,000 formerly granted to her, are in
p. 2, m. 10. } lieu of her dower of £4,500.

London, 11 August (11 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Exemplification, at the request of William de Montague, of
11 Edw. III. } the Insuperimus and Confirmation of a Deed, by which
p. 3, m. 17. } Isabella, Queen of England, grants to Robert de Morlee and
his heirs the manor of Framesden, co. Suffolk, in exchange
for certain manors, &c., which he inherited at the death of
Robert de Montalt.

Thame, 16 Nov. (11 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } The King inspects and confirms a Deed made by Queen
12 Edw. III. } Isabella to William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, of the
p. 2, m. 10. } castle and manor of Hawardyn, the manors of Lee, Boselee,
and Neston, co. Chester, the castle and vill. of Montalt, and
the seneschalship of Chester, with all its appurtenances
in the counties of Chester and Flint, and in Wales, in ex-
change for 600 marks.

Ipswich, 16 July (12 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } The King inspects and confirms a Deed, made by William de
12 Edw. III. } Montague, Earl of Salisbury, to Queen Isabella, of 600
p. 2, m. 10. } marks per annum in exchange for the castle and manor of
Hawardyn, the manors of Lee, Boselee, and Neston, co.

Chester, the castle and vill. of Montalt, and the seneschalship of Chester, with all appurtenances in the counties of Chester and Flynt, and in Wales, thereunto belonging.

Ipswich, 16 July (12 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Letters Patent, regranteeing to Queen Isabella the sum of £4,500,
12 Edw. III. } formerly given to her in dower, *returned to the King at her*
p. 2, m. 12. } *request.* Walton, 26 June (12 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Exemplification, at the request of Queen Isabella, of Letters
13 Edw. III. } Patent, 8 Edw. III., granting to her certain liberties in the
p. 2, m. 8. } castles, manors, lands, &c., given her in lieu of her dower
of £3,000. Langley, 15 Nov. (13 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Exemplification, at the request of Queen Isabella, of a Grant
14 Edw. III. } made to her, 11 Edw. III., of £1,500 out of the customs of
p. 1, m. 6. } the ports of London, Boston, and Kingston-upon-Hull,
which, with certain manors, &c., of the value of £3,000,
formerly granted to her, are in lieu of her dowry of £4,500.
Westminster, 22 April (14 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of £201. 3s. 2d., in lieu of an annual
14 Edw. III. } farm of £201. 3s. 2d. of the town of Southampton, formerly
p. 3, m. 58. } granted her.
Waltham Holy Cross, 1 July (14 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of the town of Southampton of the
16 Edw. III. } value of £100 per annum, in part satisfaction of £201. 3s. 2d.
p. 3, m. 7. } formerly granted her.*
Kenyngton, 4 Dec. (16 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the manors,
19 Edw. III. } lands, &c., formerly granted to her by Letters Patent,
p. 1, m. 23. } 16 Nov., 5 Edw. III.; and 6 Dec., 5. Edw. III.
Westminster, 13 March (19 Edw. III.)

Rot. Pat. } *Inspeximus* and Confirmation of certain Indentures by which
21 Edw. III. } Queen Isabella grants to Edward, Prince of Wales, the
p. 3, m. 3. } manor and hundred of Maklesfeld, co. Chester, in exchange
for certain manors, &c., therein specified.
Westminster, 26 Nov. (21 Edw. III.)

* 18th Edw. III., New Fœdera, Vol. III., p. 1., fol. 15, "Rex, Senescallo suo Vasconiz," &c. "Pro Isabella Regina Angliæ matre Regis" totam terram quæ fuit olim vicecomitis Castellion', &c., given to her for life.

Close Roll, } Isabella, Queen of England, releases to Henry, Earl of Lan-
 22 Edw. III. } caster, Derby, Leicester, &c., all her right in the castle of
 p. 2, m. 5. } Clydreton, the manors of Penwortham, Totynton, and
 Rachedale, co. Lanc., and in the manor of Slayburn with
 its hamlets, and Bouland Chace, co. York, and in Pomfret
 Castle.

The next extract from the Patent Rolls is a Letter of Purveyance, in the 12th Edward III., for the Queen Isabella's household at Pontefract Castle, where she appears at that time to have been residing.

Patent Roll, 12 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 27.

D intendendo pvis p } R Oñibz Baffis ⁊ fidelibz suis tam
 hospic Isabelle Regine } infra libtates q'm extra ad quos,
 Angt. } ſc., Saltm. Cum dictus nob

Petrus de Ellerker onet p Theſ
 hospicij Isabelle Regine Angt, mris nre, carissime ad ea
 que p officio Salarie hospicij pdci necessaria fuerint p
 denariis, ipius mris nre inde in garderoba sua solvend
 pvidend ⁊ emend voß mandam qđ eidem Petro in pmissis
 faciend sitis consulentes ⁊ auxiliantes quociens ⁊ quando
 p ipm sup hoc ex pte nra fuitis requisiti. Volumus enim
 qđ pvidencie hj⁹ fiant juxta formam statuti de cōi consilio
 regni nri, nup editi ⁊ pvisi in quo continet^r qđ prise ⁊
 pvidencie p hospicio nro ⁊ hospiciis consortis nre ⁊ libore
 nrore fiant p pciū scm p Constabula^r ⁊ quatuor pbos hoies
 villare ubi hj⁹ prise ⁊ pvidencie fieri contigint ad hoc
 juratos ⁊ absq cōminacōe inde faciend et qđ inte⁹ captores
 ⁊ pvisores hj⁹ ⁊ illos de quibz illa bona capta fuerint in
 psencia Constabula^r ⁊ appciatore pdcore fiant tallie de
 hj⁹ rebz sic captis sigillis dcore capto^r sive pvisore con-
 signate p quas quidem tallias satisfaccio fiat illis a quibz
 res ille sic capte fuerint et qđ si aliquis capto^r vel pvisore
 p hospiciis pdcis pmissa alio modo fecit statim arestet^r ⁊
 p villatam ubi prisa illa fca fuit pxime gaole cōmittat^r ⁊

si inde convincat^r fiat ibidem de eo sicut de latrone si quantitas bonor^e illor^e hoc exigat. Nolum^{us} tamen qđ in feodo Eccle^{ię} cont^a libtatem ejusdem colore pvidenciar^e h^{ij}⁹ quicq^m capiat^r. In cuj⁹, 7c. p unū annū duř. T. R apud Gippewicū xvj. die Junij.

P billam Theſ i^pius Regine.

Conſ L^{ras} R de pteccōe hent Officiarij subscripti de pđcō hospicio de pviden^c faciend^o p officiis suis subscriptis vidett.

Ričus de Heggham p feno aveñ litera 7 aliis que necessaria fuerint p quibusdam equis 7 pullanis de equicio i^pius Regine infra honorē de Ponteffracto existentib³.

Ričus de Kynebett p officio Pulletrie hospicij pđci.

Wiſſs Brigget p officio Marescalcie hospicij pđci.

Robtus de Creye p officio scutillarie hospicij pđci.

Robtus de Islyngtoñ p officio grosse coquine hospicij pđci.

Rađus de Chilton p officio butillarie hospicij pđci.

Nichus de Walcote p officio garderobe hospicij pđci.

Johns Russel p officio aule 7 canle hospicij pđci.

Wiſſs de Moltoñ p officio panetrie hospicij pđci.

Wiſſs de Stansfeld p officio coquine hospicij pđci.

Johns le Touk p vinis que p hospicio pđcō necessaria fuerint.

In 1344 Queen Isabella was with the King and Queen at the Palace of Norwich, where the King celebrated his birthday, as were the Earls of Derby, Warwick, Arundel, Northampton, Suffolk, and many barons and knights.—[*Chronicle of a Norfolk Priory*, (qu. *Langley* ?) of which only a modern copy exists, in the Harleian MSS. 2188.] She obtained, the next year, for the city of Norwich, a grant of the fee of the Castle and other privileges. The Charter was sealed by the King at Hertford (one of her own castles) on the 19th August, in the 19th year of his reign, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

and its interest: care has been taken by judicious repairs to stay the ravages of time, and the constant presence of a person having charge of it, prevents those dilapidations so frequently occurring to such ruins from mere wantonness and love of mischief.

There is, therefore, little doubt that many generations may yet appreciate its beauties, and study amongst its walls the history of those early days they recall and illustrate.

"Thou, grey magician, with thy potent wand,
Evok'st the shades of the illustrious dead!
The mists dissolve—uprise the slumbering years—
On come the knightly riders cap-a-pie—
The herald calls—hark, to the clash of spears!
To Beauty's Queen each hero bends the knee;
Dreams of the past, how exquisite ye be—
Offspring of heavenly faith and rare antiquity!"

APPENDIX.

A.

21 Edward III. Rysyng Castell.

M^d. That wey be taken for the Jurisdicc'on for ther be be d'vic p'sone dede this yere w^t in Rysyng whose testaments be not p'ved nor admynyst'r'con comytted. Wherfor the dedis will is not p'formed nor non thyng don for them, &c.

Itm. That remedy be had for the significavit which my Lord of Norwich hath ayenst Rauf Salt^r my lords fermo^r.

Itm. To understonde what shal be don with the grete berne at Rysyng, which is in grete decaye & is not occupied, and the reparac'on of it wold coste x mrc or mor, &c.

Itm. The Kepar of the Chace take ev^r yere wood w^toute assignement: sum yere xx loads, & sumtyme were wont to take nowt.

Itm. That my Lords game may be bett^r kepte & cherished: for the Keparas suffre ev^r man to hunte there that will yeve them xx^d or xl^d, and so hath be alayn ther this yer xx dere, and at this tyme y^r w^t not passed iiij^{xx} dere of all man' sorts, &c.

Itm. That y^e fermo^r Rauf Salt^r be compelled to store the Wareyn, whiche he hath w^t the ferme, and maken in as good plight as it was whan he entered into it; for sum tyme it was laten by yere for xx^{li}, and now there is as much Wermyn in as Conyes, &c.*

B.

(*Paper without date.*)

To the Right honorable and discret lords of my lorde princes cowncell, Humbly shewen unto yo^r most noble wisdom, the ten^u & inhabitaunts of my lord princes of Rysyng in the Counte of Norf.: That wher they and all their auncestors w^toute tyme of mynde exempt

* Augmentation Office Papers, Carlton Ride.

from all Byshope Jurisdiction; And the p'son of Rysyng Castell for the tyme beyng . . . w^oute interrupc'on to be Official and corrector, and to keepe Courte and Chapetirs wⁱn the same lordship to corect all man' of offences comyttyd wⁱn the said lordship in like man' and forme as the Bishope do owte of the same. It is so now that on' S^r Richard Cranworth is p'son of . . . and is so neglig . . . that he hath div^a times discov^d the confession of us his p'ish'oners . . . he hath causyd grete discenc'on & troble amongs us, & thirfor causith us to be shreven at Lynne & other places, as shal be evidently proved before y^r Lordshipps; and so thorough hys symplenesse and . . . of conyng, & by hys suffraunce the Byshop of Norwiche hath usurped upon my Lord . . . & distourbed his fraunchises, to the grete troble of all us my said lords tenants . . . & they pray him to be removed & a "discrete preste" appointed instead of him.*

C.

Circa 22nd Edward IV.

As towchyng the Vewe of the Mylls at Rysyng Castell † in Norfolk besyds Lynn. I was ther all a daye and had dyv^rse agyd men of the contre w^t me; as they deposed before me I certify yow^r lordshipps as folowyth:

"Ther ys a myll called a Coggemyll whiche ys in decaye and lakkys a ston callyd a Renn'; ther ys a new ston brokyn that wyll serve for the lygger; ther lakkys coggyss and reparaconys of the howse, and the streme must be stoppyd, for yt passyth besyde the wheele: yt wer pyte y^t mylle shulde stonde as yt dothe, for the streme is very goode bothe Wynter and Somer, and all the contre compleynes of that mylle yt gothe not, ther x or xj townys that ys wont to be servyd at that mylle, yt was told me yt hath grownde xxx^{vj} Combe whete in a daye and a nyght, y^t is xv quart^r: yt wyll coste x markys to make yt p'fyght, and so yt shall be welle reparyd, and then it wyll gyff x m'kes yerely. Men say they wolde take yt but for the baylye, for yt ys thought he hath ben and ys the cause that all thes Mylles stond so in decaye, to the intent he myght take them at his pryse for hys lyve: he hade thys mylle laste in ferme, and lette yt decaye in hys hande.

The seconde Mylle on the same Water ys callyd the Potyrmylle, a walke mylle, stodde betwyx the Coggenet Mylle and the West Mylle; yt hathe ben in decaye thys xx yerys: afore yt was well occupyed and callyd the best in Norfolk, and gaffe vj markes, as thys deponēt swereth he knewe yt.

* Augmentation Office Papers, Carlton Ride.

† On parchment, bound up in a volume of "Surveys of Priories, &c., Cc.," among the Augmentation Office Documents at Carlton Ride.

The thyrd myll ys callyd the West Mylle, a Walk Mylle, and afore yt was a corne mylle, the best in the contre tyll the baylys tyme, whych changyd yt, and ys let but for v markys, wher it is worthe be the yere vij markys.

The iiijth mylle callyd the Galle Mylle, a Fullynge Mylle, which hathe be voyde this v yeres, and in thys baylyes handes yt went to decaye, it gaff v markys: ther was felled xxx okys for the reparac'ons of yt; the baylye must answer for the xxx^v okys, for no p'fyte come of them to the seyde mylle, but stondyth desolat; ther wold be gyven for yt reparyd viij markys yerely, for ther ys gret lake of Walke Mylls in the contre: the goo viij mylle to other placys, and alle the contre m'vellyth that the princys mylls be no bettyr surveyed.

The vth Mylle ys callyd the corne mylle of Rysyng, standys voyd to the gret noyans of all the contre, and yt ys thowt y^t the bayle ys the cause, to the entent he maye take them all at undyr pryce for his awantage and to the destrucc'on of the p'sonagys; yt was wont to go for x markys a yere, and so yt wold be takyn of many men gladly, but for drede of the bayle whiche is not of mynde that any man shold take them.

As towchyng the reparac'ons of the Castell, yt ys in such decaye that a c^u wold lytyll be sene in reparyng of yt, for ther ys nev' a howse abyll to kepe owt the reyne water, wynde, nor snowe.

And as towchyng the Jurisdic'ion of the Castell in variance be twyx my lord of Norwyth & the p'son of Rysyng, North Wutton, and Sothe Wutton, I have written to my good lord of Chichestr what I harde the agyd men in the contre and other whiche I examynyd in that be halve.

D.

18th to 21st Henry VII., 1503 to 1506.

Decas' Castri de Risyng in Com. Norff.*

Risyng.

Item. the Castell there ys evyll reparyed, and there is begon certayn Repac'ons, as of the Porters Logge, the Connstabyls Logeyng, and Nyghtyngall Towre, and of the Hall, the grete Chambre, the Chapell, the galere betwene the Hall and the said Chambre, the Kechyn, botere, and pantre; all thes are som' thyng begon & not fynyshed, and ther is a bargaen made w^t a Mason in grete for xⁱⁱ to make and to fynysha all the said repac'ons in that that belongeth to Masons work, and he hathe made parte of his bargayn, and hath receyved part of his money. And all the Rep'ac'ons don uppon the said houses ar but lost except they be fynyshed, and there is tyle, breke,

* From a volume labelled "Surveys of Priories, &c., Co.," among the Augmentation Office documents at Carlton Ride.

& tymbr metly for the fynyshynge of the said repac'ons, soo that other houses be taken downe within the said Castell as they ar appoynted, the whiche doo noo good as they stond.

Itm. The greate Square Towre within the said Castell ys to be loked uppon, whether yt is bettr to take downe the Roof & sell yt away or not: it is cov^d with tyle, and ther are Grete Gutters of lede abowt the same.

Itm. The Stabyll w^t in the said Castell must be mended as in wallyng and tylyng.

Itm. The Walles aboute the Castell ar evyll repayred & are evyll crased, and yf they be not amendyd they will fall downe. And it ys seyed that S^r Roger le Strange & the heirs of S^r Henry Heydon * shuld make & mend certayn cornells unto the said Castle by the tenur of theyre lond, and ther must be taken distres for noon payment of their Releves, &c.

Itm. Yt ys supposed that xl^{li} will goo nere to fynyshe all the Repac'ons wⁱⁿ the Castle with that stuff that ys rydey there. And so for these Repac'ons ther must be made a wod sale, &c.

Itm. Ther is a new fullyng mylne in hand to make ther with ij stokkes, and yt ys fast by grete for x m^{re} to fynyshe all the Tymber Warke.

Itm. Ther may be mad Wodsale in d^{vise} places, as well withn the Chace as without, as moche money as will fynyshe the werke that now is begon, the whiche will coste xl^{li} at the lest.

E.

34th Henry VIII.

Letters Patent, directed to Roger Townshend, Knight, William Fermor, Knight, Henry Bedingfield, Nicholas Le Strange, John Derrick, William Yelverton, and John Call, to inquire and examine on oath as to all and singular Articles, Causes, and Matters, in a Schedule to the same Letters Patent annexed, and return the same into the Court of General Survey of Crown Lands.†

Schedule containing "Interrogatories to be ministered to certain persons concerning the viewing of the Kings Castell & Chace of Rysynge in the Countie of Norfolk, and other things concerninge the same." †

"In most humble wise wee, Sir Roger Townshend, Knight, Sir William Fermor, Knight, & John Call, Squyer, authorised by the Kings most Royall

* In 1503 Sir H. Heydon died; and Sir R. Le Strange in 1506.

† "Surveys of Priories, &c., &c.," before referred to.

‡ As these interrogatories are repeated almost verbatim in the replies of the Commissioners, I have thought it unnecessary to print them.

Maiesties l'res patent, among other, to examyn certen Articles to the same l'res patent annexed concerning the viewinge of his highness Castle & Chase of Rysyng in the Countie of Norff, and other things concerning the same, doe certify accordinge to the saide l'res patent into his maiesties High Court at Westminster of generall surveye of his highness lands, That wee, the saide Commissioners, wth others, did there assemble upon the Tuesday next after Corpus Xpi day last passed; And there charged an Inquest according to our precept to the Sheriff of the saide sheere directed, w^{ch} precept, the return thereof, & the presentment of the same inquest unto the saide letters patent annexed, wee under oure hands & seals certifie unto the Kings our Sov'aigne Lords saide Courte of Generall Surveyors by these presents, dated the thirtie dayes of maye in the five and thirtie yeare of the raigne of our saide Sov'aigne lorde Henrie the eight, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, And in earthe supreme hed of the Church of England & Ireland."

[*Precept to the Sheriff.*]

[*Sheriff's Return of Jury, with note of selection and swearing of Twelve.*]

PRESENTMENT.

As touchinge the first Article, the Castell of Rysyng & dyvers houses and walls within & aboute the same bene at this daye in greate ruin and decaye.

First, wee find by this oure veredite that there is an olde greate towre or loggyng is in soe greate decaye, that it passeth oure knowledge to exteine the charges to builden; for all the buildings within it and over it is cleane wasted awaye, except the mayne wallles.

Alsoe there is one olde loggyng called the olde halle is in decaye, as well in Coverynge, Plancheringe, Wyndowes, as Wallyng aboute the same, as wee thinke will coste to make it sufficiently —.

Also there is an olde towre by the Gate-house, the Gates and the Brigge, is in so greate decaye that wee think by our Judgments it will cost to make it sufficiently x^{li}.

Also wee saye there is an olde howse in decaye, called the dungyn, to make it sufficiently, v^{li}.

Alsoe wee saye by this oure veredite that the outwarde Wallles of the Castell be soe greatly in decaye, that wee thinke to repaire them sufficiently it will cost c^{li}.

Alsoe there is a newe Loggyng, with a Kitchine, Larder-house, Chappell, and other houses necessary, with a long stable, have bene late tyme newe repaired in coveringe, glaseinge, and makeinge certeyne petic'ons wthin the same newe loggyngs, bene sufficiently repaired by S^r Christopher Jenne deceased.

As touchinge the Second Article, howe much money the saide Sr Christopher Jenne received of the Kings highnes, or of any of his officers, towards the buildinge of the seide newe loggyng or other howses before rehersed of, for that intent there: But wee saye that his is to us unbeknownen whether he received any money of the Kings highnes or of any of his officers towards the makeinge of the saide repa'cons or not.

As touchinge the third Article, what and howe many utensills, other stuffs, and goodes were and remayned in the saide Castell at such time as the saide Sr Christopher Jenne was made Constable, the whiche came into his Custody; and howe much thereof was there remayninge at the time of his deathe, and where they nowe bene, and in what estate or condic'on: wee saye uppon oure oathes that wee knowe not that Sr Christopher Jenne nor noe other person to his use reserved any suche utenasylles and other thinges before rehersed, at the time of his entre; nor noe maner of things remayned w'in the saide Castell at the time of his deathe.

As touchinge the iiijth Article, howe farre the Constablenesshipp of the saide Castell extend, and what advantages, comodities, preheminences, and doe thereunto belong: first wee saye there is a certaine grounde called the Constabulary, neare unto the Castell, whiche is diked rounde aboute wth a greate olde dicke, and parte of the same dicke lately new rayseed, wherein is a brede of Conyes, the p'fitt of the same Conyes p'teyne onely to the Constables Office. Alsoe wee saye that the Keeper of the Chase have had by the space of xxx yeres x or xij nete Beastes going there, but in the right of what office we cannot tell. And wee saye there is a certeyne Close called the Constables Close, and a certeyne Carre called the Constables Carre, p'teyning to the Constables Office. Alsoe we saye that what and howe many other Comodities or other th'ngs p'teyne to the Constablenesshipp Office wee cannott tell; for to our knowledge that all the and offices, excepte the Baylywicke, have remayned for the moste parte in one mans hands

As touchinge the vth Article, howe farre the Chase conteyneth, and what things, comodities, advantages, the Master of the Game or Ranger therein ought to have or hath used to have: First wee saye that the saide Chase extendeth from Bawsey Brigge to Gaywoode Brigge; from Gaywoode Brigge to the See; from thence to Babingley Brigge; from thence to Hillington Brigge; from thence to Brudgate lane; from thence to Bonys Brigge; from thence to the saide Bawsey Brigge. Alsoe we saye that the Master of the Game or Ranger have yearly many yeares used to make a bothe of the Armes and Boughes of Oakes atte the feaste of Penticost, by estimac'on to the number of lx loades of woode, to his or their uses.

Alsoe wee saye that the Master of the Game of the said Chase have of long tyme the pawnege, browsynge woode, seare trees, and wyndfalles to their owne use.

As touchinge the vjth and last Article, howe many deere were in the saide Chase when the saide S^r Christopher Jeune was made Master of the Game or Ranger thereof: wee saye uppon oure oathes, as far as wee can knowe and can enquire, there was viewed at the time of his entree xvij skore of all sortes and kindes of deere. Alsoe wee saye there was left at the daie of his deathe xvij skore; whereof, since the time of his deathe unto this daie, there is deade in povertie and for lack of meate to ye number of vj skore. And as wee can viewe at this daie, there remayneth xl deere of anteler and x skore Rascalls.

By me, GEEFFREY CORBE, &c.

[Jury.]

Endorsed: "Rysynge Castle

"Et Chac.

" Comit^e Arundell."

F.

About 31st Elizabeth.

Extract from a "Survey of D. of Norff. & E. of Arundel's possessions in Norff., Suff., Cambridge, & Essex." P. 159, b.

That they fynde, that by encrease of Conies suffered by the Wariner, Stephen Bull, to breed in the castell ditches and bancks of the Castell in Rising, the same bancks are decayed & the Walls are alreadie in part & the rest in danger of overthrowing, if the Conyes shall so continue; and that the said Banke and ditches are no parcell of the Warren; and that also the Constablerie belonging unto the Castell is noe p'te of the Warren of Rising, nor hath been used as Warren but of late, and that the Burrough of Castell Rising and the closes belonging and adjoining therunto are also noe p't of the said Warren.

That the Castell was erected at the first but for speare and shield, and for that force it may be maynteyned if it please her Ma^{ty} to be at the charge; w^{ch} charge by estimac'on will cost M^r M^r li to repaire the same againe. And further, if the same Castle should be taken downe and sold for benefitt, it is so greantlie decayed as the same will not yeld above one Hundred markes.

Impression of the Counter-Seal

OF

ROGER BIGOD, FOURTH EARL OF NORFOLK,

MARSHAL OF ENGLAND, 1245—1270.

IN THE POSSESSION OF R. FITCH, ESQ.

AN interesting addition to early Norfolk Seals has been recently obtained for Mr. Fitch's choice collection, and is engraved in the present volume on the same plate with the seals relating to Lynn and Rising. It is an impression, in green wax, of the *secretum*, or private seal of Roger Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk, and Marshal of England. He is represented on horseback, clad in the hauberk of chain-mail, with the surcoat over it, according to the costume of the reign of Henry the Third. In his left arm he holds a triangular shield, and his right brandishes a sword. On his head is a cylindrical, flat-topped helmet. The surrounding inscription is, + SEGR' R' COMITIS NORF' MAR' ANGLIE. The office of Marshal of England, at the decease of Anselme Marshal, fifth Earl of Pembroke, in 1245, fell to the share of his eldest sister, Maud, wife of Hugh Bigod, third Earl of Norfolk, and was inherited by her son Roger, fourth Earl. He died in the 54th Henry III.; and his nephew and successor, Roger, fifth Earl, constituting Edward I. his heir, April 12th, 1300, surrendered the Marshalship to that monarch at the same time. The first who held the title of *Earl Marshal* was Thomas de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, great-grandson of Thomas de Brotherton, son of Edward I. From the costume on the seal, it no doubt belongs to the earlier Roger, and its date is therefore between 1245 and 1270. Being detached from the original deed, it is impossible to say to what subject it testified; but its independent interest is sufficiently deserving of illustration.

C. R. MANNING.

On two Ancient Charters,

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION OF KING'S LYNN.

BY C. W. GOODWIN, ESQ.

THE Corporation of Lynn possesses two Charters of the Anglo-Saxon period of great interest, one being the grant of privileges made by King Cnut to the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, about the year 1021 or 1022; the other purporting to be a confirmation of the same by his son, King Hardecnut. It is probable that these precious documents came into the hands of their present possessors with the title-deeds of a property at Brandon, formerly belonging to Bury Abbey, purchased by the Corporation, and which it has since sold.

The abbey lands were surrendered to King Henry VIII. by Melford, the last abbot, in 1539; and these two charters were handed over to some grantee of a part of the property, and long continued to repose among the title-deeds of the estate in secure oblivion. Both are indorsed by the Royal Commissioner, John ap Rice, who visited the monastery in 1536, and whose letter to Secretary Cromwell, giving an account of his proceedings there, is printed in the *New Monasticon*, Vol. III. p. 170, and also in the Collection of Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries, published by the Camden Society, at p. 85. Of the indorsement on Cnut's charter all has been carefully erased except the name of the commissioner. On that of Hardecnut it runs thus: *Relat^o in regiū registr^o ad v̄bu, 1536. J. Rhesens^o Registr^o. Rhesensis is*

the Latinized form of Ap Rice. It would be interesting to know what became of the Royal Register referred to.

The Latin part of Cnut's charter is printed in the *New Monasticon*, Vol. III., and both charters are given at length in the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Anglo-Saxonici*, forming Nos. 735 and 761. Mr. Kemble has taken his text from a Chartulary of Bury Abbey, compiled by R. Denham, the Sacrist, temp. Edward II., and now preserved in the Public Library, Cambridge, (MS. ff. 2, 33) collated with MSS. in the Harleian and Lansdowne Collections. The text, as furnished by these MSS., varies in many minor points from that of the presumed originals preserved at Lynn; the Anglo-Saxon part of Cnut's charter has been converted by the compiler of the Chartulary into something like the English of his own time; and in Hardecnut's charter there is a very material mistake in the change of the proper name Uvi into *viri*. On these grounds it has been deemed worth while to furnish an accurate text of both charters from the Lynn copies.

Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 66, pronounces Cnut's charter a forgery. This learned writer was, however, led to this conclusion by a copy preserved among the Cotton Charters, (Aug. II. 8) which is a sort of facsimile of the original, executed, it seems, in the fifteenth century.* From the palpable modernness of this exemplar, Hickes was led too hastily to infer the spuriousness of its contents.

* This copy is no doubt one of the numerous duplicates which the monks employed themselves in making, in case of loss of the original by fire or robbery. That such was their practice, appears from the pleadings of an action-at-law which followed a riotous attack made by the townspeople upon the monastery, in 1327. From these pleadings, which are contained in one of the registers (MS. Harl. 638, and see *Monasticon*, Vol. III. p. 108), it appears that the rioters carried off three copies of Cnut's charter and four of Hardecnut's. On the back of the Lynn copy of the latter charter there is written, in a hand of the fifteenth century, over the number indicating the shelf or drawer where the document was kept: *Sunt due sub isto numero vis. ista carta et copia.*

That preserved at Lynn, written on a piece of vellum, 1 foot 7½ inches in breadth by 1 foot in depth, in very fine preservation, is manifestly of the eleventh century, and if it be not the original itself, is certainly an early or cotemporary copy. Mr. Kemble has marked this charter with an asterisk, indicating his opinion that its authenticity is suspicious. To Mr. Kemble's judgment on a point of this kind the greatest deference is due ; still I hope to be able to point out several circumstances and coincidences which favour the belief in its genuineness, and seem also to determine the exact date of its execution.

The ancient chroniclers state that Cnut founded Bury monastery in the year 1020. I take the following extract from the *Historia Eliensis*, from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 608.

“Tempore regis Canuti Elwynus episcopus Elmamensis, sed prius monachus Elyensis, præcepto ipsius regis in Betrychesworth (i. e. Bury), primo monachorum catervam induxit anno ab incarnatione domini MXX, secundum chronicam Mariani; quosdam de Holm, quosdam de Ely ibi collocavit, eisque subsidia affluenter contulit, auxilia impendente Thurchillo comite, præfecitque eis abbatem nomine Uvium; Presbyteros quoque qui ibi inordinate vivebant, aut in eodem ad religiosum culmen erexit, aut datis eis aliis rebus in alia loca mutavit.”

Now at first sight, assuming the date of our charter and of the foundation of the monastery to be 1020, a chronological difficulty appears to arise, inasmuch as the above-mentioned Ælfwinus (or Elwynus) bishop of Elmham, whose name is also appended as a witness to the document, did not come to the See till at least the beginning of the year 1021. The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that Bishop Elfgar, his predecessor, died on Christmas morn, 1021. The Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical year commenced with Christmas-day. If this event therefore happened at the close of the year 1020, the earliest

period at which Ælfwinus could become bishop would be in the beginning of the year 1021.

The Chronicle of John of Oxenede, a monk of St. Benet in the Holme (Cott. MS. Nero D. II.) states the facts and dates as follows:—

“*Anno MXX.* Cnuth rex Angliam rediit et concilio cleri et reginæ Emmæ, et comitis Turkilli, monachos ad S. Edmundum constituit, clericis qui ibidem inordinate vivebant ejectis; præfecitque eis abbatem Uvium quem a domo S. Benedicti de Hulme cum xii. monachis transtulerat.

“*Anno MXXI.* Alwinus Est-Anglorum episcopus cœpit construere ecclesiam S. Edmundi regis ad quem media pars librorum et ecclesiasticorum ornamentorum a domo S. Benedicti est translata.”

The truth, therefore, seems to be, that Cnut first established the monks at Bury in 1020, and that Ælfwinus, newly made bishop of Elmham, commenced the building of the church in 1021. The charter in confirmation of these proceedings was probably executed at the end of the same year, as I shall proceed to show.

A chronicle formerly belonging to Bury monastery, quoted by Spelman (1 *Concilia*, p. 534), states that Cnut confirmed to the monks of Bury the privileges which he had given them, by a charter executed at a council held at Winchester at the feast of Christmas 1021. If we suppose this chronicle to be arranged according to the Saxon mode of reckoning, and that the first day of the year 1021 is here meant, we are again involved in difficulty, inasmuch as the predecessor of Ælfwinus having died on that very day, he could hardly have appeared with his title of Bishop among the witnesses to the charter. We must therefore suppose that Christmas 1021-2 is intended, which reconciles all difficulties, and is in accordance with and explains a fact which I am about to mention.

Thurkil, Earl of East Anglia, one of Cnut's most potent

vassals, is said by the above-quoted chroniclers to have taken a part in the foundation of the monastery. His name occurs as a witness to several charters of Cnut anterior to 1021, when he appears as Thurkil dux, and always takes precedence of the other duces or earls. It is therefore remarkable that we do not find his name appended to this charter. There is, indeed, the name of one Thurkyl *miles*, but this is evidently another person, and of inferior rank. The Saxon Chronicle opportunely explains the matter, by informing us that, at Martinmas (Nov. 11) in the year 1021, the Earl Thurkil was outlawed, nor was he restored to favour till several years after. The omission of his name is therefore satisfactorily accounted for, if we suppose this charter to have been executed at Christmas 1021-2, while it is perfectly consistent with what historians tell us of Thurkil's having taken a part in the first establishment of the monastery.

The monastery of St. Bennet in the Holme, near Norwich, of which that at St. Edmund's Bury was a kind of colony, seems to have been founded by Cnut a short time previously to the year 1020. John of Brompton informs us that the charter of privileges granted to the monks upon the spot, was afterwards confirmed to them by the monarch in solemn council at Winchester. Now upon referring to the charter in question, (*Cod. Dipl.* Vol. IV. p. 28, No. 740) we find that out of nineteen witnesses (exclusive of the names of the king and queen), the first fifteen are the same and in precisely the same order as the first fifteen in the Bury charter. This coincidence cannot of course be accidental; and the conclusion is, that both charters were executed at the same council, and probably drawn up by the same hand. Both these charters also agree in the peculiarity of having a condensed translation in Anglo-Saxon appended after the witnesses: no other similar instances occur among Cnut's charters. Of course it is open to argument, that one of these charters may have been used by a forger as a precedent for the other, and that

hence has arisen the similarity of form and identity of witnesses. Undoubtedly a very close connexion existed between these two monasteries, and the monks may have had plenty of opportunities of inspecting one another's charters. I lay, therefore, no great stress upon the above-mentioned facts, though, taken in connexion with other considerations, they may not be entirely without weight.

As the names of the Sees of the various attesting bishops are not added in the charter, I will give them here in order.

Wulfstan, Archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023.

Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 to 1038.

Godwinus, Bishop of Rochester. There were two prelates in succession of this name, from about 996 to 1058.

Ælfwinus, Bishop of Elmham from December 25, 1020.

Death uncertain.

Ælfsinus, Bishop of Winchester from 1015 to 1032.

Æthericus, Bishop of Lincoln from 1016 to 1034.

Ælfwinus, Bishop of London from about 1015 to 1035.

Brihtwaldus, Bishop of Wilton from 995 to 1045.

It will be observed that the Archbishop of York takes precedence of him of Canterbury. This order is not usual in the Anglo-Saxon charters, but a few other similar cases do occur. The respect due to so venerable a prelate as Wulfstan, by one whom he had himself recently consecrated, may have led to this arrangement. In Charter 734 of the *Codex Diplomaticus* (as well as in 740) where the two names occur together, the same order is followed; but in Nos. 736, 742, and 1316, Æthelnoth precedes Wulfstan.

The most important privilege granted to the monks of Bury, seems to have been the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, which was warmly contested by the East-Anglian bishops on more than one occasion. The first of these disputes took place in the reign of William the Conqueror, and

the proceedings had thereon are detailed in a charter, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, of which a cotemporary copy is preserved in the Cottonian Collection (Aug. II. 25.) The Latin part is printed in the *Monasticon*, Vol. III. p. 141, from the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus, where the date assigned to it is 1081. As the Saxon part has not been published, it is worth giving here, as a sample of English in the last quarter of the eleventh century. It will be found to vary very slightly, if at all, from the standard Saxon of the tenth century and first half of the eleventh.

WILLELM Engla kyncg and eorl ofer Normandie. and ofer þa Mans. ic sende gretincge arcebiscopan. and leodbiscopan. abbodan. and eorlan. and eallum geleaffullan mannum. We gelyfað and geara witan þæt we þurh Godes mildheortnysse synd uponhafan to þisses kynerices heahnyse. forþi gedanenað us þæt we geornlice smægen ymb þa gesundfullan stapelunge ealles uran underdeoddan folces and swyðost þara þe dæges and nihtes swincað on Cristes deowdome. We willað eac þæt hit beo cuð eallan geleaffullan mannum æigþer þamþe nu andwyrde syndan on life. and þam toweardan. þæt Arfæst biscop us sæde and manegum oðrum þæt his biscop stol mid rihte beon scolde on Sƿe Eadmundes mynstre þær se sylfa arwurþa kyning and se gecorena Cristes cempa restað. and anbidað þara eadigan ærist dag mid unformolsnodan lichamon. þa for þissere spræce wæs lange hwile micel geflit betwux Arfast biscope. and Baldwine þara forseadan cyrican abbode. Us þuhte þa riht þæt hi begen comon to urum hyrede. and þæt heora ægbres tala come beforan us. and beforan uran witan. and siððan æfter heora beigra tala wære gescyled and gedæmed þæt rihteate mid ercebiscopa ræde. and leodbiscopa. and abboda. and eorla. and oðra wisra manna. Hi comon þa begen beforan us to gesetton dæge. and se biscop tealde ful gerædlice his tale gif hit soð wære ac heo wæs eallum mannum geþuht idel and unnyt forþi þe



he næfde naþor ne gewritu ne gewitnesse. Se abbod Baldwine tealde þa his tala þær to geanes ærest hu Cnut kingc draf ut þa preostas of þara ylcan cyrican for þi þæt hi unendebyrdlice lifedon and nanes regoles ne gymdon. and sette munecas þær mid gemænan ræde his arcebiscopa. and leodbiscopa. and abboda. and eorla. and manegra oðra wisra manna. and þæt Ægelnoð arcebiscop of Cantwarabyrig siððan þæt ilce mynster halgode þurh þæs ilcan kynges hæse. and þone forman abbod þæs mynstres hadode se biscop of Lundene. and þone oþerne se biscop of Wincestre. and þisne abbod Baldwine se nu is se ðridða abbod hine halgode se ercebiscop of Cantwarabyrig. and he tealde ful swutelice þæt ða wæs agan ðreo and fiftig geara siððan munecas þone eþelan ham gesohton. and on eallan þam fyrste þæt mynster and þæs mynstres ealdras wæron æfre uncwid and uncrafod fram eallum Arfæstes biscopes forgenglan. and þa munecas underfengon had of swa hwilcon biscope swa him betst gelicode be heora abbodes dihte. Siððan he þiss eall geteald hæfde. þa brohte he forð Cnutes kynges gewrit. and Eadwardes þæs wulderfullan kynges. on þam wæs geswutelod þæt ða kyngas gefreodon þa halgan stowe. and sæcne freodom sealdon fram ealra biscopa and fram ealra woruldmanna and wealde. þa we heora beigra tala and þæs abbodes gewitnesse gehyrd hæfdon þa bebed ic him eallum þe ðær sæt wæron þis gehyrende þæt hi rihtne dom dæmdan æfter heora beigra tale. Ða eodon þa witan togædere to þam dome se ercebiscop Lanfram of Cantwarabyrig. and Thomas arcebiscop of Eoferwic. and Odo biscop of Baius min broþor and eorl ofer Cent. and maniga oðra biscopas. and abbodas. and Rodbeart min sunu. and eorlas. and ealle þa heafod menn ures rices gedæmdan þæt swilc ealderdom and swylcen stowe freodom scolde full wunian æfre unawemmed and stapolfæst oð worulda geendunge. Ic gefafoðe þa swa hit riht wes heora ealra unwidsecgendlican dome and gefaþunge sylle. Siððan þær æfter us gelicode þæt we mid ræde arcebiscopa. and

biscopa. and abboda. and eorla. and oðra manegra ura holdra manna. and eac for þæs abbudes bene Baldwines þe hit eadmodlice æt us sohte þæt we gestrangedon mid ure gyfe and mid urum gewrite þara halgan stowe freodom. and þara kynga gyfa þe ætforan us wæron. Eadmundes kynges. and Cnutes. and Hardecnutes. and Eadwardes þæs eþelan kynges þurh þæs kynræden and gyfe to eacan Godes miltsa we sindon yrfweardes Engla rices. þæt heonan forð æfre þe forsæda cyrca and se tun þe heo on stent beo freols on eallan þingum fram Arfaste biscop and fram ealra his æftergengla biscopa onwealde on ecnysse. and we gefæstnodon eac þas kartan mid urum agenum handgewrite and mid ures insigeles onðryste to þam þæt þara foresprecenan stowe freodom on ecnysse þurhwunie.

Ic Willelm of Godes gyfe Engla kyngc bebead þis gewrit to writene and gewritan ic hit gemearcode to trymmunge mid tacne drihtenlican rode.

TRANSLATION.

WILLIAM, King of Angles, Earl of Normandy and of Mans: I send greeting to my Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Earls, and all faithful men. We believe and well know that we through God's mercy have been raised to the height of this kingdom; therefore it beseebeth us that we earnestly consult for the prosperity and stability of all our subjects, and particularly of those who labour day and night in Christ's service. We wish also that it be known to all faithful men, as well those who are now alive as those who shall be hereafter, that Bishop Arfast told us and many others that his bishopric should by rights extend to the monastery of St. Edmund, where that venerable king and chosen soldier of Christ reposes, and awaits with uncorrupted body the resurrection of the blessed. Now on this topic there was long much dispute between Bishop Arfast and Baldwin abbot of the aforesaid church. It seemed right to us, therefore, that they should both come to our Court, and that the case of both of them should be brought before us and our counsellors, and, after the statement of the case on both sides, the matter should be weighed and decided with the strictest

justice, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and other wise men. They came therefore both before us on a day appointed, and the bishop stated his case very plausibly, if it had been true, but it was adjudged by all to be vain and useless, because he had neither writings nor witnesses. The Abbot Baldwin then stated his case on the other part; first how King Cnut drove out the priests from the said church, because they lived disorderly and observed no rule, and how he placed monks there, with the common advice of his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and many other wise men; and that Ægelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards, by the command of the said king, consecrated the said monastery; and that the Bishop of London ordained the first abbot of the monastery, and the Bishop of Winchester the second; and as for the Abbot Baldwin, who is now the third abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury ordained him; and he stated very clearly that it was fifty-three years * from the time when the monks came to that noble home, and during all that period the monastery and its rulers were always exempt from question or claim as against all the predecessors of Arfst, and the monks received orders from whatsoever bishop they pleased, with the permission of their abbot. After he had stated all this, he produced the charter of King Cnut and that of the glorious King Edward, in which it was declared that these kings enfranchised the holy place, and granted it eternal freedom from the dominion of all bishops and all secular persons. When we had heard both their statements and the abbot's witnesses, I commanded all those who were present and heard these things, to give just judgment between the two cases. Then went the counsellors together to judgment, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Odo, Bishop of Baieux, my brother, and Earl of Kent, and many other bishops and abbots, and Robert my son, and the earls and all the head men of our kingdom; and they decided that the said authority and freedom should remain to the place for ever inviolate and stable to the end of the world. I therefore, as was right, approved of the unanswerable decision which they had all given, and I do give my approbation. Afterwards, it pleased us, by the advice of the Archbishops, and Bishops, and Abbots, and Earls, and many others of our liege men, and also in consideration of the request of Abbot Baldwin, who humbly thereto besought us, to confirm, with our grant and our charter, the freedom of the holy place, and the kings' gifts who were before us, King Edmund and Cnut and Hardecnut and the noble King Edward, through whose kindred and gift, besides God's mercy, we are inheritors of the kingdom of the Angles; so that henceforth for ever the aforesaid church and the town wherein it stands shall be free in every respect from the dominion of Bishop Arfst and all his successors, to eternity. And we have also confirmed this

* This seems to mean that the dispute with Arfst first began fifty-three years after the foundation of the monastery.

charter with our own hand-writing and with the impression of our seal, to the end that the freedom of the aforesaid place may endure to all eternity.

I, William, by God's gift King of the Angles, have commanded this writing to be made, and when written I have marked it for confirmation with the sign of the Lord's cross.

The above proceedings show the vast importance which was attributed to charters, as evidences of title; and the uncritical character of the times rendered forgeries extremely available. The charter of Edward the Confessor alluded to is probably No. 895 of the *Codex Diplomaticus*, of which No. 910 is the Latin counterpart.

In addition to immunity from episcopal jurisdiction, Cnut likewise grants to the monks of Bury the taxes called *heregyld* and *scipgyld*, payable by the inhabitants of the town whenever those contributions should be levied on the nation. These impositions appear to have been identical with the tax called *Danegyld*, a payment first made either for the purpose of buying off or of repelling the Danes, in the time of Æthelred, and which seems to have become a regular annual impost about the year 1014.—(See Florence of Worcester, ad ann. 1051.) The king further grants the toll of sea-fish due to him (it is not quite clear where or when payable), and a fishery at Wylla, which had belonged to Ulfkytel, Earl of East Anglia, and had, it seems, fallen into Cnut's hands on the death of that nobleman in battle, anno 1016. Wylla (probably Welney in Cambridgeshire, i. e. Wyllan-ig) was in those days an island, inhabited by fishermen, where multitudes of eels were taken.—(See charters 563, 579, and 581 of the *Cod. Dipl.*)

He further grants, "omnia jura quarumcunque causarum in villis quæ monasterio adjacent," translated in the Saxon by "ealra heora tunsocne of ealle heora lande." If this charter be genuine, this is probably the earliest instance of a grant of *socn* occurring in a Saxon charter.—(See Introduction to the first volume of the *Codex Dipl.* pp. xliii. xlv.)

Queen Ælfgifa adds a grant of 4000 eels, "cum muneribus quæ pertinent ad illas," to be taken annually at Lakenheath. The word *munera* is not quite clear. It perhaps means services, i. e. the duty of catching the eels, which we find in later times fell upon the tenants of the original abbey farm, called Beodricsworth, and was in the end commuted for a money payment. The troubles which arose to the monastery in the exaction of this due, have been commemorated by the garrulous Jocelyn of Brakelond, and have lately been revived and invested with new interest in the pages of our great humorist and philosopher, Mr. Carlyle.—(See his *Past and Present*.)

I now come to the consideration of the other charter, which professes to be a confirmation by Hardecnut of his father's grant. It bears internal evidence of being a forgery of the monks of Bury. In the first place the document now existing at Lynn, written on a piece of parchment 13½ inches broad by 11½ inches deep, is in a hand-writing of the twelfth century, possibly of the time of Henry I. (1100—1135.) This fact, however, would not alone be sufficient to prove its contents spurious, as I have shown above that numerous copies of this very charter did exist among the archives of Bury. The evidences of forgery lie in the matter of the document itself.

It commences with an unusually lengthy exordium, and is throughout very prolix—in itself a rather suspicious sign. It proceeds to state that upon the accession of Hardecnut to the throne, Ægelnoð (Æthelnoð) the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Ælfridus, Earl of Kent, and Uvi, the Abbot of St. Edmund's, appeared before the king in his court at London, and petitioned for the confirmation of the charter given by Cnut to St. Edmund's Bury monastery; stating, among other things, that they were both (ambo) present,—i. e.

I suppose, Æthelnoð and Ælfridus,*—at the execution of Cnut's charter. Hardecnut proceeds to confirm the former grant, and in the denunciative clause, at the end, with which Saxon charters of the ordinary form conclude, consigning to eternal perdition all who may dare to infringe the grant, he adds the singular climax of a pecuniary fine: "If any one in future times, which we hope may never happen, shall rashly attempt to impeach or infringe this decree, let him be subject to perpetual excommunication from the ministrations of the church in this world, and let him without ceasing suffer and sustain the punishment of hell fire with Judas the traitor, *and moreover let him pay thirty talents of gold to the king's treasury.*"

According to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, Æthelnoth died in the year 1038, and Hardecnut, who was in Denmark at the time of the death of his father, Cnut, in 1035 or 1036, did not come to England until 1040 (or, according to one copy of the Saxon Chronicle, 1039). Taking either date, it is clear that the story told by the above charter is inconsistent with history, and must have been composed in ignorance of the fact, that although upon the death of Cnut in 1035 Hardecnut was, with his brother Harold, nominally chosen king, yet that he did not take any part in the government, nor even set foot in England, until 1039 or 1040, when Harold died.

The addition of the money fine is so great a deviation from the regular form of the genuine Anglo-Saxon charter, as to confirm any suspicion we might otherwise entertain of the genuineness of this document. An instance occurs in No. 420, professing to be a charter of Eadred, dated 948, but in fact a forgery of the monks of Croyland.

Among the witnesses' names to our charter, besides Ægelnoðus, we find that of Ælfricus, Bishop of Elmham. Now,

* It is observable that the names of neither Ælfridus nor Uvi are among the witnesses to either of the charters.

according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicle, Ælfric of Elmham died in the year 1038, and was succeeded by Stigand. There is some confusion of dates with regard to the Bishopric of Elmham at this period. The old lists of bishops make two Ælfrics in succession. Matthew of Westminster places the death of one Ælfricus in 1038, and then in 1044 he says, that, on the death of Ælfricus, Stigand succeeded to the See. This seems to be a mistake. Florence tells us that Stigand, shortly after his accession in 1038, was ejected, and Grimketel obtained the See by bribery, continuing to hold the bishopric of the South Saxons at the same time. Stigand, however, afterwards succeeded in ejecting Grimketel, and took the bishopric of the South Saxons himself, and placed his brother Ægelmar at Elmham. This probably took place in 1043 or 1044.

Though the matter does not seem quite free of doubt, it is most probable that there was no Bishop of Elmham named Ælfric later than the year 1038; and therefore none could have witnessed this charter of Hardecnut, and we have here an additional proof of its spuriousness. The monk, whoever he was, that forged it, was, however, not wholly careless as to giving it the air of authenticity; for he has added, as the last five witnesses, the names of Godwinus, Thuri, Leofricus, Siwardus, and Rooni, who are mentioned by Florence as having been dispatched by Hardecnut to execute vengeance upon the monastery and town of Worcester, for the death of Feader and Thurstan, two of the King's house-earls or body-guards, who had been slain in that town while endeavouring to collect an oppressive tax. This vengeance seems to have been executed in the most ferocious manner; and it was not without cause that the names of the five above-mentioned earls were had in remembrance throughout the land.

It will be observed that, in the account of the legal proceedings above quoted, Abbot Baldwin is said to have produced only the charters of King Cnut and King Edward.

Now it is incredible that if he had had in his possession so solemn and formal a confirmation as that of Hardecnut, with its money penalty, he should not have produced it on this occasion, and that its production should not have been mentioned and made much of. It is true that King William talks about confirming the gifts of the kings who were before him,—Edmund, Cnut, Hardecnut, and Edward ; and it must also be admitted that Edward's charters, Nos. 910 and 915 in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, (with their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, Nos. 895 and 1346) and also No. 868, all speak of a grant or confirmation by Hardecnut. If such a document did ever exist, we must suppose it to have been lost before the time of the law-suit, and that the one we have now was forged to supply its place after that event. The powerful effect of the charters which were actually produced, in turning the decision in favour of Abbot Baldwin, would naturally render him and his monks alive to the advantage of having their series of title-deeds complete, in case of another law-suit ; and their experience of the practice of the law courts of those days led them also to see the advisableness of introducing a money penalty, in addition to the spiritual terrors held out to the adversaries of their rights. Their foresight was not without reward ; for in the year 1345, William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, entered into a contest with the monastery, claiming a right of visitation. The abbot pleaded exemption, by charters, from episcopal jurisdiction, and the king, by letters patent dated 6th Aug. 1346, confirmed the former grants, and commanded the bishop to desist. He appealed to the courts of law, when a verdict was found for the abbot, and the bishop was condemned, under Hardecnut's charter, to pay thirty talents of gold into the king's exchequer. The temporalities of the see of Norwich were seized by the sheriff until payment of the fine, and the king's attorney-general moved for an inquiry to ascertain the value, in the then coinage, of the thirty talents. According to some, this amounted to £8000 ; according to

others, to £30,000. The matter seems to have been subsequently compromised, the bishop relinquishing all claim to visitation.—(*Monasticon*, Vol. III. p. 110.)

CNUT'S CHARTER.

IN nomine poliarchis ihū xpī saluatoris mundi totiusque creaturæ creatoris. cuius diuino dominatui quæque dominationes debito seruitio subnixæ deseruiunt. cuius etiam omnipotentatui uniuersi potentatus obsecundari examussim præproperant. quia bonitas eius bonitatis est incomprehensibilis. et miseratio interminabilis. dapsilitas bonitatis ineffabilis. longanimitas quoque super prauorum nequitias quantitatis prolixitate cuiuslibet longior. qui cotidianis admonitionibus religiosam conuersationem ducentes monet. ut pie sectando iustitiæ culturam. non eam deserendo linquant. quin potius perseuerabili instantia in eius cultura ut permaneant paterno affectu hortatur. qui nihilominus eadem affectione mandat peccatoribus ut respiscant a suis iniquitatibus conuertentes. quia eorum execratur mortem. Eius amoris stimulo et fide suffultus. cuius largiflua miseratione ego cnut rex totius al-bionis insulæ aliarumque nationum plurimarum in cathedra regali promotus. cum consilio et decreto archiepiscoporum. episcoporum. abbatum. comitum. aliorumque omnium meorum fidelium. elegi sanciendum atque perpeti stabilimento ab omnibus confirmandum. ut monasterium quod badriceswurde nuncupatur sit per omne ævum monachorum gregibus deputatum ad inhabitandum. et ab omni dominatione omnium episcoporum comitatus illius funditus liberum. ut in eo domino seruiantes monachi sine ulla inquietudine pro statu regni dominum prævaleant precari. Placuit etiam michi hanc optionis electionem roborare priuilegio isto. in quo indere præcepi libertatis donum quod iam olim eadmundus rex

occidentalium saxonum largitus est suo æquivoco pro nanciscenda eius gratia et mercede æterna. scilicet EADMUNDO regi et martyri quod bonæ uoluntatis uoto augere cupimus. quatinus eius promereri precibus merear portionem eius beatitudinis post huius cursum uitæ. Tali libertate concedo fundo frui illi in quo idem sanctus pausat. ut quoties populus uniuersus persoluit censum danis. vel ad naues. seu ad arma. persoluant inhabitantes in ipso fundo eadem ad usus quos elegerint fratres illius loci. sitque nobis remedio hoc. michi quippe. æque reginæ meæ Ælfgifæ. ac filiis nostris. omnibusque qui pridem ei hoc contulerunt. Huic libertati concedo additamentum. scilicet maritimos pisces qui mihi contingere debent annualiter per thelonei lucrum et piscationem quam ulfkytel habuit in wylla. et omnia iura quarumcumque causarum in uillis quæ monasterio adiacent et quæ adiciendæ sunt per gratiam dei. Dedi quoque reginæ meæ assensum. concedens ei pro sua elemosina dare quattuor milia anguillarum cum muneribus quæ pertinent ad illas pro annuali censu in uilla quæ cognominatur lacynghahye. Si quislibet quod absit istam libertatem quoquolibet conatu nititur seruitutis iugo subigere. vel praua intentione transmutare. ut rursus clericos in eo collocet loco sit addictus captiuitati æternæ. carens sempiterna libertate. et mancipatus seruitio diaboli. eiusque consortio sit inextricabilibus habenis constrictus nisi satisfactio eius erratui subueniat. quod prorsus optamus.

- + Ego cnut rex gentis Anglorum aliarumque nihilominus hoc priuilegium iussi componere. et compositum cum signo dominicæ crucis confirmando impressi.
- + Ego ælfgifa regina omni alacritate mentis hoc confirmau.
- + Ego uulstanus archiepiscopus consensi.
- + Ego æðelnoðus archiepiscopus confirmaui.

- + Ego godwinus episcopus corroborauī.
 - + Ego ælfwinus episcopus assensum dedi.
 - + Ego ælsinus episcopus consignauī.
 - + Ego æpericus episcopus conclusi.
 - + Ego ælfwius episcopus roborauī.
 - + Ego brihtwaldus episcopus.
 - + Ego eric dux.
 - + Ego godwinus dux.
 - + Ego ulf dux.
 - + Ego eglaf dux.
 - + Ego hacun dux.
 - + Ego leofwinus dux.
 - + Ego godricus dux.
 - +
 - + Ego oslacus miles.
 - + Ego þored miles.
 - + Ego þurkil miles.
 - + Ego þrym miles.
 - + Ego broþor miles.
 - + Ego ælfric miles.
 - + Ego ælfwinus miles.
 - + Ego leofricus abbas.
 - + Ego ælfwardus abbas.
 - + Ego æpelstanus abbas.
 - + Ego ælsius abbas.
 - + Ego leofwinus abbas.
 - + Ego uulfredus abbas.
 - + Ego oskytelus abbas.
 - + Ego ælfwius.
 - + Ego ælfricus.
 - + Ego ælfricus.
 - + Ego leofsius.
 - + Ego leofricus.
-

ON ælmihtiges drihtnes naman. ic cnut kyning kyþe eallum mannum ymbe ðone ræd ðe ic mid minum rædgyfum ge rædd hæbbe for minre sawle þearfe. and for ealles mines þeodscipas gesundfulnysse. þæt is. þæt ic ann ece freodomes ðam halgan kyninge sƿe eadmunde swa forþ swa he fyrrest hæfde into þære stowe þe he on restað. and swa wille ic þæt se freodome stande on his ge wealde unawend. buton elces bisceopes anwealde þæra scire ecelice freo. and swa fela syþe swa menn gyldað here gylde. oþþe to scip gylde. gylde se tunscepe swa swa oþre menn doð to þære muneca neode þe þærbinnan sceolon for us þeowian. and we ge curon þæt hit næfre ne sceolde ænig mann ge wendan to oðres hades mannum. buton he wolde been ascyred fram Godes gemanan. and eallum his þam halgum. And ic ge ann þam munecan to fodan ealne þone fixnoð þe ulfkytel ahte æt wyllan. and min gafol fisc þe me arist be sæ lande. and min cwen sælfgyfu ann þam halgum feower þusend æla mid heora lacon þe þær to ge byriað. æt lakynge hyþe. and ic ann heom ealra heora tun socne of ealle heora lande. þe hi nu habbað and git be gitan sceolan on Godes este.

TRANSLATION OF THE SAXON.

IN the name of the Almighty Lord, I, Cnut, king, make known to all men concerning the counsel which I have taken with my counsellors, for my soul's need and for the benefit of all my people, that is to say:—That I grant eternal freedom to the holy king Saint Edmund in such wise henceforth as he had it heretofore in the place wherein he rests, and I will that this freedom stand in his dominion unchanged, from the power of every bishop of the shire whatsoever eternally free. And so often as men pay army-money or ship-money let the township pay, according as other men do, to the behoof of the monks, who shall therein serve [God] in our behalf. And we have chosen that no man shall ever convert the place to the use of men of another order, unless he would be cut off from the communion of God and all his saints. And I grant to the monks for their nourishment all the

fishery which Ulfkýtel owned at Wylla, and my toll of fish which arises to me along the sea coast. And my queen Ælfgýfu grants to the saints four thousand eels with their services which pertain to them, at Lakyngthe. And I grant to them jurisdiction over all their townships in all their land, which they now have, and may hereafter acquire by God's grace.

As it may be interesting to some readers to compare the spelling of the original Saxon, with that of the copy made by Denham, the sacrist, in the time of Edward the Second, I add it here, from the *Codex Diplomaticus*, Vol. IV. p. 17.

In ælmichtin drihtines name! Ic Cnut kyng kide alle manne ða wed* ðat ic mid mine redgiuen red habbe for mine saule pearfe. and for alle mine þedschipes sendfulnessse; ðat is. ðat ic an ece fredomes ðan halegen kinge seint Eadmund so forð so he firmest hauede into ðere stowe ðat he on rested. and so wille ic ðat se freedom stonde on his welde unawend buten alkes bisschopes anwelde ðere schire ekilike fre; and so fele side so men gilded hire geld oder to schipgeld. gelde se tunscipe so oðere men don to ðere moneke nede ðe ðer binnen schulen for hus þewien. and we curan ðat it nefre ne schulde ani man wenden to oðre godes † manne. buten he wolde ben aschired from Godis manne and alle hise halegen. And ic an ðo monekes to fode al ðat fishnode ðat Wlfketel aichte at Welle and min gouelfisch ðe me arist be selonde; and mine quen Ælgiue an ðen halegen four þusend ele mid hire looc ðe ðerto bired at laking heðe; and ic an hem alle here tune socne of alle hire lond ðe he nu hebben and get begiten schulen on Godes este.

* Read *red*.

† Read *hodes*.

HARDECNUT'S CHARTER.

IN nomine sanctæ Trinitatis et indiuiduæ unitatis, descriptio immunitatis hardeknuth anglorum regis. super monasterio sancti eadmundi martyris. Quum diuina scriptura multis in locis attestante. liquet omnino cursum presentis uitæ in ualle lacrimarum constitutum fore. perspecta uolubili rota transeuntis mundi. nulli cuiuslibet scientiæ perspicaci uigore pollenti. hic inuestiganda est aut appetenda felicitas ueri gaudii. cum quantalibet dignitas carnis nostræ non tantum calcabili feno comparata assimiletur prophetica uoce. uerum etiam eius momentaneo flori. quo nil in uniuersitate rerum materialium uisibili. fragilius aut labilius inuenitur haberi. Cum ergo ita se rei ueritatem proculdubio liqueat habere. adeo pro dolor hebetatæ mentis inuoluimur ceca caligine. ut odio digna amplecti sollicitè studeamus. et quæ diligenda merito forent omnino uitemus et proponamus dum reliquenda iugiter tenere concupiscimus. Et ad perpetuitatem cælestis gloriæ ad quam diuina ammonitione sanctorumque patrum crebra institucione inuitamur cotidie. nullius affectu desiderii satagimus anhelare. In cuius rei serie. si quis uoluerit perspicaci diligentia animadvertere. quam plurima nobis compariet aduersa digne prouenire. dum irretiti transitoria pompa ambitionis mundanæ salubria animarum nostrarum remedio et utilitati præsumimus uitare et fugere. ponderosæ usquequaque carnis superati pro nefas fragilitate. Sed iuxta uocis dominice testimonium. in quo ualet proficere aliquis hominum lucrator uniuersarum mundanarum rerum. si contigerit animæ suæ pati mortale detrimentum? quin etiam expediret ualde. meditari iugiter et recolere uerba exhortacionis dominicæ. quibus conscientiarum testis ipse. conuertentibus ad eum se promittit appropinquare et non deesse. interminans ab eo elongantes de terra uiuentium delendos fore. Quod si nil est dulcius iocundius atque felicius. quam cum eodem domino

rerum gaudere perpetualiter in celestibus facile e contrario agnosci datur prorsus nil esse difficilius miserius atque lugubrius. quam cum diabolo menbrisque eius. suppliciis addici gehennalibus. Cuius exactionis si effugere conamur passionem. ne pigeat euuangelicis uerbis mentis sollicitam adhibere intentionem. cuius instigamur salutifera ammonitione. non solum tales de mammona iniquitatis nobis amicos præparare quorum fulti auxilii leuamine. corporaliter hinc deficientes recipi mereamur in perpetua beatitudine. sed etiam sanctam æcclesiam nostrarum facultatum quantitate ditare et quieti domino famulantium inibi prouidere. Si uero id necessarium fore credatur christiane fidei in pressione insignitis omnibus. ut pro facultate uirium deuotius insudare debeant his ac huiusmodi similibus ceterorum bonorum operum exercitiis et fructibus. tum præcipue tam bonæ deuotionis liberalis munificentia nobis inesse debet regibus. quorum ditioni non quorumlibet meritorum qualitate. sed solius diuinæ clementiæ prouidentia et dispositione. ad regendum concessus est subiectus populus. et ad tuendum a malis imminentibus sexus utriusque ordo æcclesiasticus. Denique quum iuxta quantitatem commissi talenti. durius nos esse exigendos non ignoramus ni conspectu iudicis adorandi et tremendi. et pro cursu transactæ uitæ adepturos locum remunerationis aut penæ. ideo expedit ut in suscepti officii cura ita strenue uigilare studeamus. Quatinus hic cum fructu bonorum operum tranquilla pace degentes. de triumphoque sanctæ dei æcclesiæ hostium et nostrorum gaudentes. ab eodem domino dotali mereamur auditu boni euge. et perpetualiter foueri in promissa sanctorum consortio requie. Cuius adeptionis ardore inhianter succensus. ego hardeknut rex anglorum uocatus. gratum mecum duxi notificare omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris utriusque sexus fidelibus præcellentissimum knuth genitorem meum cum assensu laude et consilio suorum archiepiscoporum. episcoporum. abbatum. monachorum. clericorum. et regni sui deuotorum procerum. et ceterorum

minoris ordinis gregariorum militum. sicut in ordine eiusdem continetur regalis præcepti. eo tenore constituisse monachos in loco sancti eadmundi. ut nulli regum aut hominum umquam in futuro liceret ponere inibi ordinem alium. Quo uitalibus auris exempto. meque in eiusdem regni solio diurna opitulante clementia substituto. et lundonie præsidenti in generalis curiæ placito. Egelnodus cantuariorum archiepiscopus cum eiusdem comitatus præsule Ælfrido nomine et cum præfati sancti Uui uocato abbate in præsentia mea palam astitit. et utrumque a me cum eisdem petiit. uidelicet ut descripta prius a uenerabili patre meo ut dixi eiusdem loci confirmatione propriæ firmitatis auctoritate roborarem. et quod adhuc supererat perficere minime differrem. Ad hæc me quid sibi uellet et quo tenderet huius rationis prolatio requirente. illi e contra indicauerunt repente. se id uelle a nostræ principalitate serenitatis ab omnibusque æcclesiasticis personis atque proceribus ibidem congregatis humiliter petere. quatinus pro remedio animæ patris et matris atque meæ et prospera regni nostri stabilitate. hanc libertatis immunitatem sancti eadmundi loco eiusque habitatoribus dignarer concedere. ne inibi domino famulantes cenobite. pastorum æcclesiasticorum aut ad se pertinentium personarum ullo deinceps tempore quaterentur seu impedirenter molestia aut obpressione. Dixerunt igitur se id pluribus modis quamdiu uitalibus auris fruerenter uelle fieri tum quia ipsi ambo interfuerunt paterne confirmationi. tum quia meritis præfati sancti pro petito beneficio huiusmodi sperabant a domino mihi sibi que perpetuam remunerationem proueniri. tum quia verebantur ne perversioris intentionis et animi nostri successores sentirentur et inuenirentur atque sui. Quo patefacto nostro generaliter auditui. licet non potior esset eis uoluntas petendi quam mihi desiderium exequendi. tamen perquisito inde consilio communi. uniuersali concordia in primis a deuotissima matre mea. Ymma. deinde ab omnibus oportunum responsum accepi. hoc probabile. utile dignumque effectum esse. a nullo

corum abnegari posse. Qua propter dei omnipotentis succensus amore. et eiusdem martyris patrocinio gaudens et honore. cum fauore laudeque ecclesiasticorum pastorum mundanorumque principum. taliter descriptum constituo roboroque præceptum. ut nullus archiepiscoporum aut episcoporum. aut aliquis secundi ordinis eorum disciplinatu adherentium personarum. audens quoque modo huius nostræ constitutionis uiolare iudicium præsumat quicquam consuetudinis sive dominationis amodo in eodem monasterio et uilla super monachos. clericos. aut laicos proclamare usurpare. iusticiam aliquam facere aut missas celebrare. nisi monitus fuerit ab ipsius loci abbate. aut ipsi abbati pro homicidio aut adulterio placuerit aliquem suorum ad eum mittere. Si quis uero posterorum quod non putamus futurum. hoc aggressus fuerit temere calumniari aut infringere decretum. præsentium æcclesiasticorum prolate excommunicationi subiaceat. et cum iuda traditore ignis tartarei penas indesinenter luat et substineat. et insuper regio fisco. **xxx.** auri talenta persolvat. Et super conseruatores domini ueniat benedictio. adiutorium et consolatio. uitæ et rerum congrua tranquillitas corporis et mentis iugis protectio salus et sanitas. ut et hic prosperam uitam ducant cum fructu deo placitorum operum. atque post carnis obitum. perpetuum diuinæ contemplationis adepti gaudium. feliciter in sorte maneant et consortio sanctorum. ✚ Ego hardeknut rex anglorum aliarumque nationum hoc priuilegium iussi componere. et compositum propria manu impressione dominice crucis confirmaui. ✚ Ego ymna regina mater ipsius hardeknut gaudenter assensum præbui. ✚ Ego Ægelnoðus dorobernensis archiepiscopus signo crucis consignauit. ✚ Ego Alfricus eboracensis archiepiscopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Alwinus wintoniensis episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Aluuordus lundoniensis episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Alfricus helmhamensis episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Liuingus Wigornensis episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Wlsius lichefeldensis episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Brithwoldus Winto-

niensis* episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Grimketel sudsaxonie
 episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego eadmundus lindisfarnensis
 episcopus consignauit. ✚ Ego Sigewart abbas consignauit.
 ✚ Ego helias abbas consignauit. ✚ Ego godwinus comes
 assensum præbuit. ✚ Ego thuri comes consensi. ✚ Ego
 leofricus comes consensi. ✚ Ego Siwardus comes consensi.
 ✚ Ego Rooni comes consensi.

* This should be *Wiltoniensis*.



On an Ancient Enamelled Candlestick.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M. A., Hon. Sec.

THE beautiful specimen of ancient enamel here engraved, was recently exhibited to the Society by Mr. G. Johnson, and is understood to have been preserved at a house in the parish of Weston. It was originally, no doubt, part of the plate used at an altar; and is of that description so profusely manufactured for the whole of Europe in the thirteenth century, at Limoges. The class of enamels to which it belongs, is usually known by the names of *champ-levé*, and *encrusted*; the pattern being principally formed by the surface of the metal left plain, with intermediate spaces tooled out, and filled up with colour. The term *imbedded* has been also used,* as more expressive of the process employed. The present example is formed of copper, and is five inches in height. The candle was affixed by a pricket, which is now lowered. The colours of the enamels are as follow: the ground of the quatrefoils round the top of the nozzle is blue; the ten heart-shaped ornaments underneath are blue, with three rounds of white in each; and the leaves below them are green at the base, yellow in the middle, and white at the edge. The lozenges at the top of the stem are dark blue with white centres, alternating with light blue with yellow

* See a valuable paper by Mr. Franks in the *Arch. Journal*, VIII, 51.



CANDLESTICK OF LIMOGES ENAMEL.

Date, circa 1200.

centres; the four fleurs-de-lis on the stem are light blue. The knob is ornamented with intersecting circles, of which the square parts are dark blue, with yellow centres, and the ovals white. The leaves on the stem below are green with yellow edges, the ground between them being blue and white; the band at the bottom of the stem has a ground of bright blue. The spreading base is ornamented with six circles, of two alternate designs. One has four blue and white ovals, the ground being yellow and green; the other has four curled leaves of metal, with a white, blue, and plum-coloured ground. The ground of the rest of the base is all green, and the six small flowers in the angles are blue and white. The border, finishing the base, is light blue.

The design of the three feet on which the candlestick rests is somewhat Romanesque in character, and may justify the opinion that its date should be placed early in the thirteenth century. A different style of enamel, called *trans-lucid*, or *transparent* (of which the famous cup belonging to the Corporation of Lynn is a fine example), prevailed in the fourteenth century, and to this succeeded the *painted* enamels, for which the later Limoges school is so justly famed. Another curious specimen of thirteenth-century enamel is preserved in the Norwich Museum: a shallow bowl, ornamented with flowers and figures, and a foreign coat of arms. Numerous examples of these valued antiquities have been illustrated in archæological works, and exhibited at meetings; but the candlestick is not quite so frequently met with as the pyx, reliquary, &c.; and few could be found more tasteful and elaborate than the one now produced.



The Easter Sepulchre at Northwold.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. G. H. M'GILL.

THE engraving which accompanies this Paper, and which has been presented to the Society by Mr. J. R. D. Tyssen, of the Manor House, Hackney, represents the Holy Sepulchre at Northwold, a large village in this county, twelve miles North-west of Thetford, on the road to Lynn.

In a church full of interesting architectural details, showing examples of every Gothic style from Early English to Late Perpendicular, the curious structure of which the plate gives a correct representation is the most remarkable. A few observations upon it, and the ceremonies connected with Easter Sepulchres in general, may perhaps not be unacceptable to the members of our Society.

The position which it occupies is on the North side of the chancel, not far from the East wall. It is partly hollowed in the wall, and partly projects from it. The length from East to West is nine feet, and the present height twelve feet: far exceeding in size either of the other two best known remaining examples,—the Sepulchre at Lincoln Cathedral, of which only the lower portion now exists, or that at Heckington in Lincolnshire, the size of which is 2 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft. There is no doubt that this at Northwold is the largest relic of the kind extant in the kingdom.

The plinth rests upon the floor of the chancel; it is quite



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THE PATENT OFFICE, LONDON.

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1844.



plain, and projects a little further from the wall than the upper portion of the structure. The part next above the plinth is ornamented with quatrefoils, having two panelled arches, between each quatrefoil, trefoiled and cusped. These are somewhat imperfect, in consequence of the softness of the material of which the Sepulchre is composed—the clunch or chalk-stone of the parish and neighbourhood.

Above the quatrefoils are exhibited the figures of four soldiers evidently startled from repose by some sudden surprise or fear. One grasps his spear, another his shield, and all appear to be in a state of considerable alarm, fulfilling the description of the Evangelist, (St. Matt. xxviii. 2)—“Behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.” Blomefield, in his description of this Sepulchre, says that “they are the effigies of *three* men in armour and *three* trees, a tree between each man, all in a reclining position.” Now it is evident from the engraving, which is an exact copy of the original, that there are the remains of *four* soldiers and *five* trees; so that Blomefield must either have been misinformed, or not have examined the subject accurately. At Heckington and at Lincoln the number is four, as here. And it is well known that that was a very usual division of Roman soldiers. At the Crucifixion there were four soldiers, “who, when they had crucified him, took his garments and made four parts, to every soldier a part.” St. Paul was “delivered to four quaternions of soldiers to keep him,” so that each quaternion might guard him in turn. These four figures are very much mutilated, but are still sufficiently distinct to show what they are intended to represent, namely, the Roman watch placed by the chief priests to guard the sepulchre of Christ.

The next compartment above the soldiers shows a plain ledge, on which, probably, the figures of saints were formerly placed. It is divided into three very richly ornamented parts. In that nearest the East is an orifice, with arched top, trefoiled and cusped, in which, probably, the pyx, with the host, was placed on Good Friday, and there left till the morning of Easter-day. This opening is blocked up, except for a few inches at the entrance.

The arched canopies, which are three in number, are very highly enriched with groined tops and with niches for the figures of saints, none of which at present remain. These three canopies are different from each other in their tracery, that towards the East being the most elaborate and beautiful. A considerable amount of time must have been consumed in forming the roses, the intersecting lines, and other embellishments here visible. There are two heads representative of the Father, a face with rays encircling it. This device is frequently found in Late Perpendicular stained glass, and occurs at Tideswell, in Derbyshire, on the brass of the first and last Bishop of Hull, Bishop Pursglove, who is buried there. The pilasters at the upper portion of the sepulchre are very beautiful, and some of them quite perfect.

Portions of a bratisement still remain on the upper external part of the canopies, and probably the whole was surmounted with rich ogee arches, no parts of which now remain, except the springings on which they rested. These springings, which are shown in the plate, render this a highly probable supposition. Had the present top been surmounted with ogee arches as supposed, the entire height would have been nearly fifteen feet, instead of twelve, as now, and they would no doubt have added considerably to its richness and grandeur.

Such is a short description of the Easter Sepulchre at Northwold, the only specimen remaining in Norfolk of the many which are incidentally alluded to by Blomefield in his History of the County. With respect to the various ceremonies, which

were in use before the Reformation, connected with these structures, and the directions given about them in the different Service-books, it may not be uninteresting to add a few particulars.

It appears to have been the custom from a very early period to consecrate two hosts on the day before Good Friday, and to reserve one of them for the anniversary of the Crucifixion. And this host so reserved was placed in a fitting receptacle with much ceremony on the Thursday, and taken again therefrom on Good Friday. It is not at all unlikely that this custom and this prepared place, combined with the reverence for our Lord's Sepulchre elicited by the Crusades, led to the erection of these memorials and to the services in connection with them.

In a manuscript Missal, supposed to be of the twelfth century, now in the University Library at Cambridge, the Rubric for the Thursday before Easter says, "*Dumque psalmi vespertinales in choro psalluntur, sacerdos ipse psalmos dicens; hostiam in crastinum reservatam cum corporalibus reponat; que in pixide reverenter locata, precedentibus ceroferariis et thuriferario, ipsemet portans retro ut juxta majus altare in loco eminentiori et decenter parato reponat. Et accipiens thuribulum incenset corpus dominicum. Ubi quamdiu corpus dominicum manserit, continue lumen ardeat, nisi per extinctionem ultime candelee in matutinis. Hoc expleto ad altare redeat expectans donec psalmi in choro finiantur.*" In this rubric we find the place designated by the epithets "*eminentiori*" and "*decenter parato*," words which are exceedingly applicable to such Easter Sepulchres as remain. The position also is the same, near the greater altar,—"*juxta majus altare.*"

The Sepulchre spoken of by Durandus, in his book on Symbolism, cannot be the same as this: he calls it a sepulchre or cavity in which reliques ought to be deposited; it signifieth, he says, the golden pot of manna, which was placed in the ark of the testimony. "This sepulchre is sometimes

made at the upper part of the altar, sometimes in the front side of it."

The Roman Missal, A. D. 1523, says, "Non obmittat sacerdos curatus consecrare hostiam magnam et servare illam pro servitio crastino;" and the Missal issued after the Council of Trent, A. D. 1582, contains the following rubrics relating to the subject.

I. *Feria V. in Cœna Domini; (Maunday Thursday)* "Hodie Sacerdos consecrat duas Hostias, quarum unam sumit, alteram reservat pro die sequenti, in quo non conficitur Sacramentum; reservat etiam aliquas particulas consecratas, si opus fuerit pro infirmis; sanguinem vero totum sumit, et ante ablutionem digitorum ponit Hostiam reservatam in alio Calice quem Diaconus palla et patina cooperit et desuper velum expandit, et in medio Altaris collocat."

II. "*Hodie (Maunday Thursday)* paretur locus aptus in aliqua Cappella Ecclesiæ vel Altari, et decenter quoad fieri potest ornatur cum velis et luminibus ubi Calix cum Hostia ut supra reservata reponetur. Finita autem Missa, accenduntur intorticia, et fit Processio more solito, alio tamen Subdiacono parato crucem ferente. Celebrans indutus pluviali albo, stans ante altare, imponit incensum in duobus thuribulis absque benedictione, deinde in medio genuflexus, cum altero incensat ter Sacramentum, et accepto calice cum Sacramento de manu Diaconi stantis et cooperto cum extremitatibus veli, quo ejus humeri teguntur procedit medius, inter eundem Diaconum a dextris, et Subdiaconum a sinistris sub baldachino, duobus Acolythis Sacramentum continue incensantibus usque ad locum præparatum ubi pro crastino servandum est. Interea dum fit Processio cantatur Hymnus 'Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis.' Cum autem ventum fuerit ad locum præparatum Diaconus genuflexus a Sacerdote stante accipit Calicem cum Sacramento et ponit illum primo super Altare, ubi a Sacerdote genuflexo incensatur ut supra; deinde reponit in capsula. Postea in Choro dicuntur Vesperæ sine cantu."

In the former of these rubrics we have the host reserved for Good Friday; and in the latter, particular directions given for the preparation and adornment of the place where it is to be kept. The veils and lights are specified; the order of the procession laid down; the celebrant Priest proceeds with the Deacon on his right and the Subdeacon on his left, with two Acolytes continually censuring the Sacrament, to the place prepared for its reception, and there it is deposited with all the imposing ceremonials enjoined by the rubrics. The whole of this is done on the Thursday before Easter; and another rubric states with what solemnity the place is again to be visited on Good Friday, and the Sacrament taken from it.

“Ordinatur Processio ad locum ubi pridie Sacramentum repositum fuerat. Procedit Subdiaconus cum Cruce inter duos Acolythos deferentes candelabra cum cereis accensis; et clerus per ordinem, ultimus Sacerdos cum ministris. Cum perventum fuerit ad locum Sacramenti accenduntur intorticia quæ non extinguuntur nisi post sumptionem Sacramenti; et Sacerdos genuflectit ante Sacramentum, orat aliquantulum: Diaconus interim aperit capsulam, in quâ reconditum est Corpus Domini; postea Sacerdos surgens absque benedictione imponit incensum in duobus thuribulis, Diacono naviculam ministrante, et genuflexus incensat Sacramentum; tum Diaconus extrahens Calicem cum Sacramento de capsula dat ad manus Sacerdotis et tegit extremitatibus veli quod humeros illius circumdat, et procedunt in ordine quo venerunt: defertur baldachinum super Sacramentum et duo Acolythi cum thuribulis continue Sacramentum incensant. Interim cantatur Hymnus ‘Vexilla Regis prodeunt.’ ”

In a Roman Processional, date 1629, the following direction occurs: “Dum deferter processionaliter Venerabile Sacramentum ad *locum honorifice præparatum* cantatur Hymnus ‘Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis.’ ”

These ceremonies and this place made ready for the reception of the host reserved for Good Friday, would very

naturally and very easily lead to the ceremonies of the Easter Sepulchre, which took place on Good Friday and the day of the Resurrection.

In a manuscript Salisbury Missal, now in the Fitzwilliam Library, probably of the early part of the fifteenth century, this rubric occurs: "Ponantur a Subdiacono tres hostie ad sacrandum quarum due reserventur in crastinum, una ad piciendum a sacerdote, reliqua ut reponatur *cum cruce in sepulchro*." This is the earliest record found by me as to the uses which the sepulchre was designed to fulfil; and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the Salisbury Missal is the only one which contains the above direction. That of York is silent upon the point, and the Roman Missals generally omit all mention of it. This rubric clears the subject satisfactorily; for we have here three hosts to be consecrated on the Thursday: one for that day; the second for Good Friday; and the third to be placed with the cross in the Easter Sepulchre. The close connection between the "*locus aptus in aliqua capella*" and the Holy Sepulchre, is evident from this passage; and there can be little moral doubt, that the spot where the third host was deposited was the same in which by the preceding rubrics the second was ordered to be placed.

In the Salisbury Missal the rubric for Good Friday is as follows: "Finitis Vesperis exuat sacerdos casulam et assumens secum unum de prelati in supelliciis amborum pedibus nudatis reponat crucem in sepulchrum pariter cum corpore dominico scilicet in pixide: incipiens ipse solus R^m 'Estimatus sum' Genua flectendo cum suo socio: quo incepto statim surgant: similiter fiat in R^m 'sepulto domino. Deinde incensato sepulchro et clauso ostio incipiat idem sacerdos R^m 'Sepulto.' Ad istas tres añas genuflectent duo predicti sacerdotes continue; sacerdos incipiat añ 'In Pace.' Chorus prosequatur, 'In id ipsum.' Item, sacerdos añ 'In pace factus est.' Chorus prosequatur, 'Locus ejus.' Item,

sacerdos añ 'Caro mea.' Chorus prosequatur, 'Requiescit in spe.' His finitis et dictis oratur ad placitum secrete ab omnibus cum genuflexione omnibus aliis ad libitum recedentibus ordine non servato. Reinduat sacerdos casulam: eodem ordine quo accessit in principio servitii, cum Diacono et Subdiacono, et ceteris ministris altaris abscedat. Exinde ardebit continue unus cereus ad minus ante sepulchrum usque ad processionem que fit in resurrectione dominica in die Pasche: Ita tamen quod dum p' 'Benedictus' canitur et cetera que sequuntur in sequenti nocte extinguatur. Similiter extinguatur in vigilia Pasche dum benedicatur novus ignis usque dum accendatur cereus paschalis xxxvi pedes continens in longitudine."

This rubric directs what is to be done: the cross is to be placed, after vespers, in the sepulchre with the host (corpore dominico) in a pix; the sepulchre is to be censed with incense; the door shut, and the hymn "Sepulto Domino" sung. One wax-light at least is to be kept burning before the sepulchre till Easter morning, except while the Benedictus is chanted and the New Fire blessed on Easter-eve. Allusion is also made to a procession on Easter-day, probably to the Sepulchre; but the Missal for Easter-day is quite silent upon the matter.

But though the Salisbury Missal gives no further information on the subject, we have a detailed description of the ceremonies performed in another of our cathedrals, both on Good Friday and on Easter-day, in a small book printed in 1672, intitled, "The Ancient Rites and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham, collected out of the Ancient Manuscripts about the time of the Suppression," by J. Davies; a copy of which is now in the University Library at Cambridge. "Within the Abbey Church of Durham, upon Good Friday, there was marvellous solemn service, in which service time, after the Passion was sung, two of the antient monks took a goodly large crucifix, all of gold,

of the picture of our Saviour Christ, nayled upon the cross, laying it upon a velvet cushion, having St. Cuthbert's arms upon it, all embroider'd with gold, bringing it betwixt them upon the cushion to the lowest greeses, or steps, of the quire, and there betwixt them did hold the said picture of our Saviour, sitting on either side of it. And then one of the said monks did rise, and went a pretty space from it, and setting himself upon his knees, with his shoes put off, very reverently did kiss it: and after him the other monk did so likewise, and then they sate down on either side of the said cross, holding it betwixt them. Afterward, the prior came forth of his stall, and did sit him down upon his knees, with his shoes off in like sort, and did creep also unto the said cross, and all the monks after him, one after another, in the same manner and order; in the mean time the whole quire singing a hymn. The service being ended, the said two monks carried the cross to the sepulchre with great reverence (which sepulchre was set up in the morning on the North side of the quire, nigh unto the high altar, before the service time), and there did lay it within the said sepulchre with great devotion, with another picture of our Saviour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose, with great reverence, the Most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, censing and praying unto it upon their knees a great space; and setting two tapers lighted before it, which did burn till Easter-day in the morning, at which time it was taken forth." These observances at Durham on Good Friday agree, in the main, with the directions of the Sarum Missal; the variations being only such as their reverence for St. Cuthbert, their patron saint, would naturally suggest.

Mr. Davies describes the Easter-day solemnities as follows: "There was in the Abbey Church of Durham very solemn service upon Easter-day, betwixt three and four of the clock in the morning, in honour of the Resurrection, where two of the eldest monks of the quire came to the sepulchre set up

upon Good Fryday, after the Passion, all cover'd with red velvet and embroider'd with gold, and then did cense it, either of the monks with a pair of silver censers, sitting on their knees before the sepulchre. Then they, both rising, came to the sepulchre, out of which, with great reverence, they took a marvellous beautiful image of our Saviour, representing the Resurrection, with a cross in his hand, in the breast whereof was enclosed, in most bright crystal, the Holy Sacrament of the Altar; through the which crystal, the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the beholders. Then, after the elevation of the said picture, carried by the said two monks upon a fair velvet cushion, all embroider'd, singing the antheme of 'Christus resurgens,' they brought it to the high altar, setting it upon the midst thereof, the two monks kneeling before the altar and censing it all the time that the rest of the quire were singing the aforesaid antheme of 'Christus resurgens.' Which antheme being ended, the two monks took up the cushion and picture from the altar, supporting it betwixt them, and proceeding in procession from the high altar to the South quire door, where there were four ancient gentlemen, belonging to the prior, appointed to attend their coming, holding up a most rich canopy of purple velvet, tassell'd round about with red fringe, and a goodly gold fringe; and at every corner of the canopy did stand one of these ancient gentlemen, to bear it over the said images, with the Holy Sacrament carried by the two monks round about the church, the whole quire waiting upon it with goodly torches, and great store of other lights; all singing, rejoicing, and praying to God most devoutly, till they came to the high altar, upon which they placed the said images, there to remain till Ascension-day."

At Rouen the "Office of the Sepulchre" was celebrated in the following manner: three deacons, robed in dalmatic and amice, their heads clothed to resemble women, come through the middle of the choir, and, hastening towards the sepulchre

with downcast looks, utter this verse together: "Quis revolvat nobis lapidem?" This finished, a boy like an angel clad in white before the sepulchre, says, "Quem queritis in sepulchro?" The Marys answer, "Jesum Nazareum crucifixum." Then the angel replies, "Non est hic, surrexit enim," and points to the place with his finger. This done, the angel departs as quickly as possible, and two senior priests, in tunics, sitting within the sepulchre, say, "Mulier quid ploras?" The middle woman of the three answers, "Domine si sustulisti eum dicito." The priest, showing her the cross, then says, "Quia tulerunt dominum meum." The two that are seated exclaim, "Quem queritis mulieres." The Marys kiss the place and afterwards go forth from the sepulchre. Meanwhile a priest in the character of our Lord, with alb and stole, holding the cross, meets them on the left side of the altar, and says, "Mary;" which, when she hears, she throws herself most quickly at his feet, and exclaims, "Rabboni." The priest nodding, says, "Noli me tangere." This ended, the priest again appears on the right side of the altar, and cries to them as they pass before the altar, "Avete nolite timere." This done, he disappears; and the women, having heard this, bow with joy to the altar, and, turning to the choir, sing this chant, "Alleluia resurrexit Dominus. Alleluia."

The above is translated from the Latin Office quoted by R. G. in his Paper on the Heckington sepulchre, published by the Antiquarian Society in 1795; and it would appear from it, that this service bears a close analogy to the church mysteries of mediæval times. The three deacons are made to represent the women in the Gospel narrative: they ask the question put into their mouths by the Evangelist, "Who will roll away the stone for us?" The boy appears as an angel, and says, "Whom seek ye in the sepulchre?" They answer, "Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified." The boy angel replies, "He is not here, he is risen." And of the other characters it may be said, that they all bear a dramatic

aspect, and the whole office is as it were a scene from the Gospels acted by the priests and deacons, to whom the conduct of the ceremonial is assigned.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that these structures owe their importance, in some degree at least, to the dramatic element which was infused into almost every religious service in the middle ages. Matthew Paris tells us of the Holy Sepulchre of Christ being taken from the infidels, and of the first devotions there in the last year of the eleventh century. The zeal of Peter the Hermit, and of those enthusiastic soldiers of the cross whom his eloquence induced to embark in the Crusades, was all animated with the desire to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the possession of the Mahometan. For this cause all orders of men enlisted themselves under the sacred banners, as Hume declares, and were impatient to open the way with their swords to the sacred city. Nobles, artizans, peasants, even priests, enrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious service was branded with the reproach of impiety, or, what was perhaps esteemed more disgraceful, of cowardice and pusillanimity. It was to the Holy Sepulchre that the triumphant warriors, when every enemy was subdued, immediately turned themselves: they clung to that sacred monument as the object for which they had journeyed so far and fought so manfully. It was in contending for the Sepulchre of Christ, that Godfrey of Bouillon, and the most heroic of the English kings, Cœur de Lion, gained that imperishable renown which has immortalized their names; and no one can be surprised that that sacred emblem, which drew so many warriors from distant lands to fight for its preservation, should have had its counterpart erected on our own island, and placed by the side of our own altars. Some crusader, perhaps, returned from the shores of Palestine, may have been the first to build such a structure, to remind him of that which was far away; or perhaps some widow or bereaved children might have in-

roduced it, as a sad memorial of a husband or a father fallen in the East, fighting for the tomb of Him who, for our sakes, was crucified, dead, and buried.

The architectural details of those specimens which remain, as far as their date is concerned, support this view of their origin. That at Lincoln Cathedral is Decorated, probably cir. 1350; that at Heckington is later Decorated, cir. 1380; and this at Northwold, Late Perpendicular, cir. 1480. The tomb at Stanton St. John's, Oxfordshire, which is figured in the *Guide to the Antiquities near Oxford*, and which is there called "the arch of an Easter Sepulchre, the crockets and bases of which have been cut away," is also Decorated, not earlier than the fourteenth century. These all date later than the Crusades, and so far support the hypothesis that they emanated from the same source, and that they were the home representatives of the distant sepulchre at Jerusalem.

State Papers,

RELATING TO THE CUSTODY OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH
AT WOODSTOCK, IN 1554:

BEING

LETTERS BETWEEN QUEEN MARY AND HER PRIVY COUNCIL, AND
SIR HENRY BEDINGFIELD, KNT., OF OXBURGH, NORFOLK.

From a Manuscript in the possession of the Editor.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M. A., HON. SEC.

When she a maid had many troubles past
From jail to jail by Marie's angry spleen,
And Woodstock and the Tower, in prison fast,
And after all was England's peerless queen.

TAYLOR.

THE following documents, although relating to matters unconnected with the county of Norfolk, may claim admission to the Papers of our Society from their having been written by a Norfolk worthy of the sixteenth century, whose family is still extant and distinguished among us. The MS. from which they are taken is a copy, kept by Sir Henry Bedingfield, of all the letters, &c., which passed between himself and Queen Mary or her Privy Council, on the subject of an important charge committed to him, viz., the guardianship of the Queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, at Woodstock, in the year 1554. They are all entered in a small folio volume, and well preserved. Possessing considerable general interest, and no little historical value, it has been thought desirable to lay these documents before the public. In undertaking this task, the Editor is sensible of many deficiencies which abler hands

would have overcome. Inexperience in similar labours, want of access to sources of information, and more pressing duties, have contributed to disqualify him for the office; and a variety of points will probably be observed by more practised eyes, which demand or admit of fuller illustration. These shortcomings, it is hoped, will be forgiven, and any censures suggesting themselves, be made in the friendly spirit with which the Editor will receive them.

The ancient family of Bedingfield was originally seated at Bedingfield, in Suffolk. In the fourteenth century it became divided into two branches: James, the second son of Sir Peter Bedingfield, being the ancestor of the branch now settled at Ditchingham, in Norfolk; and his brother, Sir Thomas, being that of the Oxburgh family, now represented by Sir Henry Richard Paston Bedingfield, sixth Baronet. The manor of Oxburgh came into the possession of this family by the marriage of Edmund Bedingfield, of Bedingfield, with Margaret, sister and sole heir of Sir Thomas Tuddenham, in the time of Henry V. Their grandson, Sir Edmund, was the builder of the fine old hall at Oxburgh, in 1482; where our Society experienced the hospitality of the present representative, at the Swaffham meeting in 1851. The son of this Sir Edmund was another Edmund, whose son and heir was SIR HENRY BEDINGFIELD, the subject of this notice. He was born about the year 1509; and, as related by Blomefield,^a was one of those gentlemen that appeared in arms at Framlingham, in Suffolk, in defence of Queen Mary and her title to the throne, and brought with him a hundred and forty men completely armed. After the success of this expedition, Sir Henry retained the favour of the Queen, and, from his known attachment to the unreformed religion, as well as,

^a History of Norfolk, VI., 178.

perhaps, from his resolute and trustworthy character, he was chosen as a fit person to have the charge of the Lady Elizabeth ; who, from causes which will be adverted to presently, was not permitted to remain at large. Foxe, and the writers who follow him, have attributed Sir Henry's appointment to this office to a desire, on the part of the government, to place Elizabeth under a more harsh and unscrupulous custodian than Brydges, his predecessor as Constable of the Tower. Later historians, however, do not admit the insinuation ; and there seems good reason to believe it quite unfounded. During his occupation of the Tower, his journey to convey Elizabeth to Woodstock, and his residence there, numerous stories are told by Foxe of his severity towards her ; but it is difficult to decide how much truth there may be in them. Foxe's partizanship and ill-judged zeal are well known, and he has not scrupled to turn every incident to the discredit of his opponents. At the present day, when the whole subject can be viewed from a distance, a more dispassionate opinion prevails ; and there is nothing in the documents now produced but what tends to confirm it. It is true that no reference to an undue severity on his part would be likely to be found in Sir Henry's own letters ; but, at the same time, a fair judgment may be formed of a man's character from his correspondence ; and, at least, conclusions drawn from such a source will be allowed to have some weight.

The principal charge that may be laid against him with truth, is, as Elizabeth herself expresses it, his "scrupulousness" in the direction of her conduct. Having, however, undertaken an important duty in perilous times, it seems his chief desire was to fulfil it exactly, without going beyond his instructions either on one side or the other ; and if, in the execution of his trust, his caution was excessive, we shall moderate our censures when we recollect his zeal for the religion which Elizabeth was believed to reject, and the danger of giving the least cause of offence to so powerful and deter-

mined a body as the Privy Council of Queen Mary. That Elizabeth was hardly and ungenerously treated by her sister and the Council, is admitted by all ; but the numerous complaints which will be found in these letters are not so much directed against Bedingfield as against those enemies at Court who would not give her the opportunity of clearing herself from the charges brought against her. In no case is there any appearance of disrespect to her rank ; and we find him reading a letter to her on his knees. That the accommodations at Woodstock were bad and insufficient, was no fault of his : his money fell so short, notwithstanding his entreaties to the Council, that he lent from his own purse to supply his soldiers with food ; and that his continuance in the office was by no wish of his own, is evident from his telling the Council that " to receyve the dyscharge of this my s^vice were the Joyfulleste tydyngs that ever came to me, as o^r L. almyghty knowethe." Nor, above all, must it be forgotten that, as most recent historians have justly observed, his strict guard over the liberty of Elizabeth was absolutely necessary to her safety and reputation. Surrounded on all sides by enemies, eager for their own advancement, bitter against her cause, and ready to make the most of any reports, she had reason to be thankful that her " Jailor," as she is said to have called him, was faithful to his trust ; and that firmness and caution were his characteristics, rather than weakness or indulgence.

The other offices held by Sir Henry Bedingfield during the reign of Mary were those of Knight-Marshal of her army, Governor of the Tower of London (Oct. 28, 1555), and one of the Privy Council. An entry in a fly-leaf of the present MS. records his appointment, Dec. 17, 1557, to be Vice-Chamberlain and Chieftain of the Yeomen of the Guard of Her Majesty's chamber. He had also a pension of £100. a year assigned him for life, and part of the forfeited estate of Sir Thomas Wyatt. After Elizabeth came to the throne he still appeared occasionally at Court : and so

far from suffering persecution for his religion, or his previous severity, he was honoured by a visit from the Queen during one of her Progresses in 1578.^b He married Catherine, daughter of John Townsend, and heir of Sir Roger Townsend of Rainham. The Baronetcy was granted to the family in 1666, the first Baronet being fourth in descent from him. He died at Oxburgh, and was buried there, August 24, 1583. A large monument to his memory, with Corinthian pillars supporting a canopy, remains in the family chapel, on the South side of the chancel. The inscription on it will be found in Blomefield, VI. 187.

The cause of the apprehension of Elizabeth is a piece of history so well known, that it is unnecessary to enter into minute particulars here. A full account will be found in the works of Foxe, Speed, Aikin, and Miss Strickland. It will be sufficient to state that she was supposed to be implicated in Wyatt's conspiracy and Sir Peter Carew's rising in the West. She was basely denounced by Wyatt after the failure of his schemes, although without any sufficient proof; but the Queen knowing her to be favourable to the reformed faith, was probably glad of an excuse to guard against any further attempts of the Protestant party; and the enemies of Elizabeth may have represented her to her sister as too traitorous to be at liberty. She was then living at her house at Ashridge (Jan. 26, 1553-4), and, according to Foxe, her arrest took place under circumstances of much cruelty; but here again his statement has been proved erroneous. He suppresses a letter, which shews that the Queen did not send to take her, but only wrote to her. The words of Tytler may be quoted as giving the facts in a brief form.

“He (Foxe) affirms that on the day after Wyatt's rising, Mary sent three of her Council, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to Ashridge,

^b See Nichols's *Progresses*, I., 11. No particulars, however, are given of her visit.

with a troop of horse, to bring the Lady Elizabeth to court, *quick or dead*. These knights, he tells us, arrived there late at night, and insisted, at that unseasonable hour, on seeing the Lady Elizabeth, who was then very ill in bed. Some delay having taken place, they refused to wait, burst rudely into her bedchamber, informed her that she must away with them to Court, and next morning, by ten of the clock, carried her off, amid the tears and remonstrances of her servants. Foxe's narrative is long and minute, but this is the sum of it; and were it true, no one could acquit Mary of cruelty."^c

He then proceeds to shew, that although copied by our best historians, it is completely erroneous: that Mary did not send, but wrote to her (Jan. 26), alluding to Wyatt's rebellion, and the *untrue* rumours of Elizabeth, and her insecurity at Ashridge, bidding her come to Court where she would be heartily welcome: that Elizabeth was too ill to go, until Feb. 10: that Mary forebore to send for her, notwithstanding the presumptions against her; and that it was only when Wyatt had accused her that the Queen did send for her, and then it was by her own physicians, Dr. Wendy and Dr. Owen, and with her own litter to travel in.

How far Elizabeth was really involved in treasonous attempts it is not easy now to decide. She probably, as Tytler observes, had knowledge of Wyatt's plot; but there is no proof that she directly encouraged it. Her subsequent treatment, however, was quite unjustifiable; and she hardly knew on what special ground she was charged. Ignorant of the character of those who surrounded her, even dreading murder at their hands; having everything to fear from her enemies at Court; in comfortless detention among strangers; her age but twenty-one; her spirit high and impatient of restraint;

^c Tytler's *Edward VI. and Mary*, II., 422. See also Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, I., 139; and Miss Strickland's *Lives*, V., 362. Sir Richard Southwell's name is wrongly given by Foxe, for that of Lord William Howard.

it is no wonder that she should lament her condition as "without all hope worldly," and "worse than the worst prisoner in Newgate." She constantly declares herself, nevertheless, a loyal subject, "never having done, or intended to do, anything perilous to the person of the Queen's Highness, or the Commonwealth of the realm;" and her only desire is to be tried on some special charge, or to exculpate herself in person to the Queen. It will give much satisfaction to the Editor, if these documents are thus found to confirm the opinions of recent writers, to clear up any obscurity in historical research, or to vindicate the memory of a worthy of Norfolk, and his fair captive, the "good Queen Bess."

That any amount of *new* historical information is to be gathered from these Letters, is not pretended; but, as the captivity of Elizabeth has been a subject of no little debate, it is some service to history and truth to produce the State Correspondence relating to it, from which every one may form his own opinion, and which cannot be liable to partiality or deceit. The *originals* of a few of these documents are also in the Editor's possession, but whence they or the volume were obtained, it is impossible now to say. They formed part of the antiquarian collections belonging to Thomas Jenkinson Woodward, Esq., of Diss, and probably came to him, with others, from his father-in-law, Thomas Manning, Esq., of Bungay, also an antiquary. Beyond this they cannot be traced.

An *Index* has been added, to serve as an epitome of the whole, and to facilitate reference to the incidental allusions which occur. An apology may be thought requisite for the length of the Paper, but, from the nature of the documents, it would not have been just, either to History or to the Society, to print an imperfect copy of them.

A memoriall off all letters, warruñts, &c., whyche I have to shewe concernyng the s'vice aboute my Ladie Elizabeths grace, whereunto I was comāunded by the Quenes highñes, whyche s'vice began the iiijth off maye, 1554. And In the fyrst yere off hyr moste noble Reign.^d

MARYE THE QUEENE.

BY THE QUEEN.

Trustie and ryght well beloved wee grete you well, and lette yow wete that our plesure ys, you shall furthw^t for o^r better s'vice, muster and putte in order & arredines as manye hable men off yo^r s'vūnts, tenūts, frendes and others under yō rules and offices, as you are hable to make, so as the same maye allwayes be redye upon one hours warnyng to bee employed in our s'vice as occasion shall require. and o^r furdur plesure ys, that oute of your hoole nombre, you shall chose oute the nombre off on hundred off the hableste men to serve us underneth yow wthin o^r tower off london; wherof wee have wylled yow to supplie the place off Counstable during o^r plesure. And these o^r letters shall be yo^r sufficient war-runte in thys behalf. Geven under o^r signet, at o^r mano^r off S^t James, the iiijth off maye, the fyrst yere off o^r reign.

W. PETRE.^e

^d Elizabeth was conveyed to the Tower on Palm Sunday, March 18th, 1554. As she landed at Traitor's Gate, she said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." Her fears were much increased when Bedingfield arrived with his hundred men in May; and she is said to have inquired, whether he were a person who made conscience of murder, if such an order were entrusted to him?—*Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, III., 946, 947.

^e Sir William Petre, Knight, Secretary to the Privy Council; father of the first Lord Petre. He died in 1572. "The thirteenth of Januarie deceased sir William Petre, knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had beene secretarie and of the priuie counsell to foure kings and queenes of this realme, and seaven times ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented Exeter

Articles comitted to my brother Anthonie^f to know my lorde Chamberleyn off the householde^s hys plesure in. and all other that he dydde p'crite unto me, as ordres to be observed by hys p'sidente aboute my Ladie elizabeths grace.

1. Ffyrst his Lordeshippe ordre was, that hir grace sholde have lib'tee off iiij^{or} chambres wherin her grace doth lye, and nooe man to cū there but suche off the Quenes s'vūnts and hyr owen, as be appoynted daylye to attende uppon hir grace.
2. Itm, hir grace to have lib'tee to walke in the Gardeyn when so ever she doth comāunde, forenoone and afternoone, in w^{ch} tyme eyther my lorde Shandoes^h or I, henry Bedyngfeld, knyght, to geve o^r attendūnce at that tyme, letting hir grace to cū directlye oute off hir lodgyng into the gardeyn

college in Oxford with lands, to the value of an hundred pounds by yeare; and also builded ten almes houses in the pariah of Ingerstone for twentie poore people."—*Holinshed*, IV., 264.

^f Anthony Bedingfield was the third son of Sir Edmund. He and his brothers Humphrey and Edmund appear to have formed part of the guard brought by Sir Henry, as they are frequently employed in the service of Elizabeth. Sir Henry is the only one of the family mentioned in the pedigree given by Blomefield; but in another, preserved at Ditchingham, their order stands thus: (1) Sir Henry, (2) Francis, (3) Anthony, (4) Humphrey, (5) Edmond; with two sisters, Elizabeth and Margaret. Anthony Bedingfield lived at Holm Hale, Norfolk.—See *Blomefield*, VI., 9.

^s Sir John Gage, K. G.

^h Sir John Brydges, knighted at the Battle of Spurs: afterwards Governor of Boulogne, and appointed Governor of the Tower of London at the accession of Mary. At the date of the above document he had just been raised to the peerage (8th of April, 1554) with the title of Baron Chandos of Sudeley. It is stated that his second son Charles was Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower when a warrant came for the execution of Elizabeth, but its genuineness being doubted (and afterwards proved false), it was not carried into effect. He died the 4th of March, 1558. His present representative is the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

through the doores, wheroff my sayde lorde delyvered me the keyes.

3. Itm, hir grace to have hyr plesure, and walke in the grette chambre nexte to hir owen chambre when so ever she comaundeth the same, the p'sons abovesayde gevyng their attendunce as ys abovesayde.

[*The next item is erased.*]

4. Itm, this p'sente xxvth off Apryll shee made desyre to have liberte to walke in the grette galorie.

M^d. Wherin hys lordshipps Ordre ys to be known speciallye.

5. Itm, all lynnyns broute to hir grace clene by the laundresse to be delyvered to the quenes women. And theye to see all the foule lynnyns delyvered to the sayde laundresse.

6. Itm, all other thyngs brought to hir grace to be viewed & serched by the sayde Syr henrye or oon off his brothers at the fyrst comyng In onelye.

7. Itm, wthin what Limitte my ladye Elizabeths gracs own s'vnts attendyng uppon hir wthin the toure, shall remayn.

[*The next three items are erased.*]

8. Itm, yff eny of them fall sycke wthin the toure, M^d. whether they may be licensed to departe into the towne, there to take there ease or nooe.

9. Itm, whether eny off hir s'vnts beeng married M^d. maye have there wyffs repayryng into them or there lodgyng wth them or nooe.

10. Itm, whether yt shall be suffered that enye other M^d. then hir gracs s'vnts for hir pvision off victuall onelye, shall have there repayre into the toure, and have eny pivate conference or eate & drynke wth those whooe remayneth wth her grace or nooe.

11. Itm, to knowe the ordre off the quenes maties

counsell how my ladyes gracs s'vñts lieng aboute the gate called colde harburgh¹ shall be used & comāunded.

Articles comitted to my brother Anthonie to knowe the plesures & comāundment^a off the quenes m^{att}ie or hir gracs honorable Counsell.

1. Ffyrst that my Ladye Elizabeths grace, the
The quenes pleasure to be knowen. xxvth daye off Apryll, made requeste unto me to have the lib'tie off the grette Galerie to walke in at hyr gracs pleasure. Whether that yt shall so stonde wth the quenes m^{att}ies pleasure or hyr highnes Counsell or nooe.
2. [The same as No. 8, above.]
To have license.
3. [The same as No. 9, above.]
Yff yt be mente to have them in to the toure, it ys not thought co'venie't.
4. [The same as No. 10, above.]
Yt ys notte thought resonable.
5. Itm, how hyr gracs s'vñts lyeng wthoute the gate called colde Colde harburgh (*sic*) shall be used and comāunded.
As they were in my l. Chamberleyn's tyme.
 Itm, to make sute to my lords off the Counsell that yt wolde plese them to determine for me.

¹ The meaning of the term "Coldharbour" has been much disputed, and is not yet satisfactorily ascertained.—See *Archæologia*, XXXIII., p. 125; and *Notes and Queries*, II., 340. Several places in the neighbourhood of the Tower still retain the name, as Coldharbour stairs, Coldharbour lane, &c.

The Articles agreeede uppon by my lorde Chamberlayne.

1. [The same as No. 1 of the orders of the Lord Chamberlain, above.]
 2. [The same as No. 2, above.]
 3. [The same as No. 3, above.]
 4. [The same as No. 5, above.]
 5. [The same as No. 6, above.]
 6. [The same as No. 7, above.]
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The Counsellis warrunte for the furniture off an C men.^k

M. Bed. to gooe & to have wth hym hys C men.

S^r henrye Bed. to have a warrunte for ccc^{li} in preste, for hys soldiours at viij^d the daye a man; a Captayn, iij^s; a petie Captayn, ij^s; a drume, xij^d.

My l. Tresorer. ^l	{	To bee chief ruler off that house, and to have plate off the house. To have full furniture off beddyng, hangyngs, & other necessities for hym self & syxtene s ^v n̄ts from the ladye Elizabeth.
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A warūnte for l corseletts, xxv almayn ryvetts, ^m l pykes, xxv bylls, xxv gunns and bowes, wth their full furnitures.

^k The *original* copies of this and the two preceding documents are in the Editor's possession.

^l The Marquis of Winchester.

^m "Almayne Rivets. Overlapping plates of armour for the lower part of the body, held together by rivets, and invented in Germany, whence its name. They were introduced in the seventeenth century."—Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 410. The date of introduction here given is evidently too late, as the above warrant was issued in 1554; and they are mentioned in the will of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby in 1526.—Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 622.

A plackarde to take upp xij horse.

WYNCHESTER.^a

THOMAS NORWICEN.^o

RBET. ROCHESTRE.^q

JOHN GAGE.^p

W. PETRE.

NICH. HARE.^r

^a William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer. "1572. The tenth of March deceased sir William Paulet, knight, lord saint John, earle of Wilshire, marquesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the queenes maiesties priuie counsell, and lord high treasurer of England, at his manor of Basing. This worthie man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and lived about the age of foure score and seaven yeares, in six kings and queenes daies. He served five kings and queenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eighth, Edward the sixt, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth. All these he served faithfullie, and of them was greatlie fayoured. Himselfe did see the children of his children's children, growing to the number of one hundred and three: a rare blessing given by God to men of his calling." —*Holinshead*, IV., 265. His portrait is engraved by Lodge, Vol. II.

^o Thomas Thirlby, LL.D., of Cambridge, the first and only Bishop of Westminster, to which see he was consecrated Dec. 19, 1541. He is said to have wasted its estates, for the benefit of Henry VIII. and his courtiers, to such an extent that it was dissolved by Edward VI., who, however, translated him to Norwich, April 1, 1550. He was again translated by Mary to Ely, Sept. 15, 1554. In 1555 he was sent on an embassy of congratulation to Pope Paul IV. He is said to have treated the Protestants with mildness, and even to have shed tears at the degrading of Cranmer: nevertheless, he afterwards caused John Hullier, a Protestant in his diocese, to be burnt. He was deprived of his see by Elizabeth, for refusing the oath of supremacy, and imprisoned, but in great comfort, at Lambeth, where he died, Aug. 26, 1570, and was buried in the parish church.—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, III., 551. His body was discovered in 1783, with a cap on his head and a hat under his arm, only partially decayed.

^p Sir John Gage, K.G., Lord Chamberlain to Queen Mary. He had been a distinguished statesman in the reign of Henry VIII., having filled the offices of Privy Councillor, Vice-Chamberlain, Captain of the Guard, Comptroller of the Household, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Constable of the Tower for life. He died April 11, 1556, aged 77, and was buried at West Firle, Sussex.

^q Sir Robert Rochester, K.G., Comptroller of the Household. He was the son of Sir John Rochester, of Tarling, in Essex, and had been a principal officer of Mary's little household during the previous reign, in the last year

My letter to the quenes hyghnes recityng the manner
off my ladye Elizabeths iourneye ffrom the tower
to Wodesstock.*

In moste humble wyse besecheth yo^r m^{tie} yo^r poore s'vnte,
that yt maye plesse the same to be adv'tised off the effects
rysyng & happenyng in the iourneye off my ladye Elizabeths
grace ffrom Wyndsore unto yo^r highnesse house off Woode-
stocke. The former parte off her iourneye from London to
Wyndsore † beeng truelye, as I colde describe yt, certified

of which he was committed to the Tower for refusing to communicate to her the injunctions of the Privy Council respecting divine worship in her family. At her accession she recompensed him for this, and some other hardships he had undergone in consequence of his fidelity to her, by bestowing upon him the Order of the Garter, and the appointments of Comptroller of the Household and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in which offices he died, Nov. 28, 1557.—*Lodge's Illustrations of British History*, I., 245.

* Sir Nicholas Hare (of Bruisyard, Suffolk), Master of the Rolls. In the reign of Henry VIII. he was twice Speaker of the House of Commons, and a Master of Requests. He was appointed Master of the Rolls Sept. 18, 1553. He was buried in the Temple Nov. 8, 1557.—*Machyn's Diary (Camden Society)*, p. 156. His brother, John Hare, Esq., of Stow Bardolph, was ancestor of the Norfolk baronets of that name.

† Foxe relates, that Elizabeth was "brought of the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Tame, of whom her Highnesse was gently and curteously intreated: who afterward was had to Woodstocke, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxeborough, in Northfolke; who on the other side, both forgetting her estate and his owne dutie (as is reported) shewed himselfe more hard and streight unto her than either cause was given of her part, or reason of his owne part would have led him, if eyther grace or wisdom in him might have seene before what danger afterward might have ensued thereof."—*Acts and Monuments*, III., 102.

* She went to Richmond by water, without landing. She considered herself in great peril that night, and said, "This night I think to die;" but was assured by Lord Williams that she would be safe. The next day, "passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her Grace espied certaine of her poore servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her; whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said: Yonder I see certaine of my men; goe to them and

unto yo^r gracys moste honorable counsell by tooe severall letters; the fyrst from Rychmonde by my brother Ede,^r the other from Wyndesore by master John Noryce, yo^r gentleman Usher; and unto hym also matters by mouth delyvered to signifie unto yo^r grace moore then I colde expresse by wrytyng, bycause thei happened when leyso^r s'ved not, and I am inforsed to inclose in thys letter, wreten in Articles for avoydyng off tediousness in the same, the pticularitees off the hoole arisyng afore my former letters, by which, yff yt shall plese yo^r highnes to puse, yow shall ryght well pceyve amonge the other matters therein menconed that men betwyt London and theys pties be not golde & hoole in matters off Religion; and suerlye I dydde understonde by conference wth the nobleman and gentleman whoese assistance yow dydde comāunde in the same s'vice, that theye be fullye fyxed to stonde to the late abolyshyng off the byshopp off Romez authorite, as heretofore agaynste the order of all charite hath been establyshed by statute lawe wthin thys Realme; yet thei and ev'ye off them doth to my iudgem^t shewe themselves yo^r hartye and servisable s̄biects all other wayes. Syr John Broune, Shreffē of Oxenfordshire, beeng wreten unto by yo^r highnesse Counsell, dydde ryght hartyllye & gentlye, at hys comyng to my lorde Wyl-

say these words from me, *Tanquam ovis*, like a sheep to the slaughter. So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the Deane of Windsor's house, a place more moete indeed for a Priest than a Princeesse."—*Foss*, III., 947.; *Strickland*, V., 109. At Richmond she was offered immediate liberty on condition of her accepting the hand of the Duke of Savoy in marriage, which she refused; and her penetration deserves the highest credit, for "she saw that it was banishment which was held out to her in the guise of marriage; she knew that it was her reversion of an independent English crown which she was required to barter for the matrimonial coronet of a foreign dukedom; and she felt the proposal as what in truth it was—an injury in disguise."—*Aikin's Court of Elizabeth*, I., 173.

† Edmund Bedingfield, Sir Henry's youngest brother. His descendants resided at Wighton, Norfolk.

liams^w howse, declare unto me uppon the redyng off the sayde letter that he wolde be in a redinesse at all houres to dooe yo^r highnesse the s^vice lieing wthin the compasse off hys possibilite. There was also there oon other gentleman, beeng Justice of the peace wthin the same shire, called Powell, that p^mised the lyke. The suer hope as I can lerne consisteth in Oxforde Shyre men. The other bettewyxe London and that countreye be a grette dele moore doutefull to my p^{ce}vyng. My Ladye Elizabeths grace dydde use the lytter w^{ch} yo^r highnesse sente hyr; wherin she was ryght werye to my iudgem^t, the occasion rysyng off the *starll* off the same lytter beeng warpen and cast. Thys p^sente daye she hath not been verye well at ease, as yo^r highnesse women dydde declare unto me, and yette at the afternoone she required to walke and see an other lodgyng in the house. In the whyche and other lyke hyr requestes I am mervolouslye pplexed to graunte hir desyer or to saye naye. Seeng yt hath been yo^r hyghnesse plesure to remove hyr p^{er}son ffrom & out off the tower off London, where I was ledde to dooe uppon moore certayntee by the p^sident off my verye goode Lorde Chamb[']layn,^x and also by certayn articles by me exhibited unto my Lords off the Counsell, and by them ordered, w^{ch} were to me a pfitte rule at that tyme, and now ys verye harde to be obs[']ved In thys place; wherfore I most lowlye and hartlye do desyer yo^r hignes to gyve me auctho-

^w Sir John Williams, having enjoyed the royal favour under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., had just before this time been created Lord Williams of Thame (8th April, 1554.) He was one of the first who appeared in behalf of Queen Mary at her accession, and was appointed Lord Chamberlain to King Philip. His treatment of Elizabeth on her journey to Woodstock was characterized by a kindness and hospitality which was scarcely approved at Court; and his services were retained after she came to the throne. He was made Lord President of Wales in 1558, and died at Ludlow Castle, Oct. 14th, 1559. He was buried in Thame church, Oxfordshire, where a fine monument remains to his memory, in the centre of the chancel.

^x Sir John Gage.

ritee & order in wrytyng from yo^r ma^{tie} or yo^r Counsell, how to demene my self in thys yo^r highnesse s^vice, wherbye I shall bee the moore able to dooe the same, and also receyve comforte and hartys ease to be yo^r hyghnesse daylye bedeman to godde for p^s'vacōn off yo^r moste princelye and Soverengn estate longe to endure to godds hono^r. the xxjth off maye, 1554.

A rememberuñce off the iourneye made by my Ladye Elizabeth grace from Wyndsore to Syr Wyllm Dormers^y house at West Wyckh^m, the xxjth off maye, A^o 1^o marie regine.

Ffyrst, when hyr Grace cam to the Castell gate to take hyr lytter, there stooode off master Norreys s^vñts xvj, in tawneye coots, to receyve hyr oute, at whyche place there weere sum people to beholde hyr.

Itm, at the uttergate was master Warde wth viij s^vñts weponed wth bylls, and hym self a Wardyng staff.

Itm, hir grace passed the towne off Wyndsore wth moche gasyng off people unto Eton Colledge, where was used the lyke, as well by the scollers as other; the lyke in villags and ffeldes unto Wyckh^m² where most gasyng was used, and the wyves had p^pared cake and wafers w^{ch} at hir passyng bye them thei delyvered into the lytter. she receyved yt wth thanks untyll by the quantitee she was accombred and wth the herbes delyvered in wth the wafers trobled a: she sayde, and desyred the people to Cease.

^y Sir William Dormer, son of Sir Robert Dormer, of an old family, seated for many generations at West Wycombe, Bucks, was one of those who were made K. B. at the coronation of Mary. He died May 17th, 1676. His son was created Lord Dormer of Wenge, and his grandson Earl of Carnarvon; from whom descends the present Lord Dormer.

² Wycombe.

Itm, at West Wyckh̄m Syr Wyllm Dormer, wth xvj s'v̄nts in blewe coats, and M^r Dormer ^a off Tame, hys kynsman, wth iiij^{or} off hys s'v̄nts, awayted hyr comyng half a myle from hys house, thorough whyche towne she passed wth grette lokyng uppon unto mastir Dormers house, where wthoute the utter gate my ladye Dormer,^b wth hyr doughter In Lawe,^c the queenes M^{ties} mayde, dydde awayte their recepte, and folowed the lytter unto the doore where hir Grace alighted and wente oute off hyr lytter, and so by them receyved into the hous, and so hyr grace went into her chamber, from whense shee desyred not to sturre, beeng thereto moved by werynesse, as yt was to be iudged.

M^d, at Woburn in Buckyngh' Shyre oon Xrofer Cooke, a playne husbonde man, awayted a quarter off a myle from the towne upon an hylle to see hir grace, and advised my lorde Wyllms and s' henrye Bed. off the waye: and the sayde Syr henrye talkyng wth hym founde hym a verye ptestunte, uppon whyche occasion he inquired off Woburn and Wyckh̄m markette, w^{ch} for the moste pte be off the same opinion, and by the credible reporte off dyv'se my l. Russell^d and certayn other gentlemen off his secte hath pcured and practised the same.

Itm, that the sayde Syr Wyllm Dormer dydde very well intertayne hyr grace, as well in hir diet as In hir lodgyng.

^a Perhaps one of the Dormers of Lee Grange, cousins to Sir William.

^b Dorothy, daughter of Anthony Catesby, Esq., of Whiston, co. Northampton, second wife to Sir William Dormer.

^c Jane, daughter of Sir William Dormer by his first wife, Mary, daughter of Sir William Sidney; she was maid of honour to Queen Mary, and married Don Gomez Suarez, Count of Feria.

^d Francis, Lord Russell, eldest son and successor of John, first Earl of Bedford. He was born in 1528, and being favourable to the reformed religion, was committed to the Fleet by Mary, July 31, 1553.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 38. He succeeded as second Earl of Bedford in 1555; in the first of Elizabeth was sworn of her Privy Council, and took an eminent part in public affairs. In Jan. 1561 he was sent as Ambassador to France: he was also a Knight of the Garter. He died June 28, 1585.

A rememberuñce of hyr gracs Jo^urneye from M. Dormers house in Westwyckh^m unto the lorde Wyll^ms house, the xxijth daye off maye.

Ffyrst, hir grace entered the lytter at the halle doore off S^r Wyll^m Dormer, takeng hyr leve off y^e ladie Dormer and hir doughter, the quenes M^{ties} mayde, wthin whyche place sū women dydde beholde hyr entree in to the lytter, and wthoute the gate were some more people to beholde, and passyng thorough oon Corner off the sayde toune, where she was lykewyse seene and spoken unto; thus safelye she passed wthoute enye grette metyng wth unto a towne called Aston, where sū people looked on hyr passyng, and foure repared to the churche and range the bells, w^{ch} were, by order of the lorde Wyll^{yams}, S^r henrye Bed., and S^r Wyll^m Dormer, putte in warde presētlye; and thus hir grace passed to the lorde Wyll^ms house,* whether c'tayn people were gathered to see hyr, into the chambers in the inner Courte, and alighted oute off hyr lytter at the hall doore, where the Ladie Wyll^{iams},^f wth other gentlwomen, dydde entertayn hyr grace; ffrom whence she passed directlye to hyr lodgyng, from the w^{ch} she sturred not untill she had supped, when she called for the lorde Wyll^ms, S^r henrye Bed., and S^r Wyll^m Dormer to awayte hyr plesure in the utter chamber off the three, with whom she talked.

It^m, she hadde the ladye Wyll^ms wth hyr at Supper, whoe remainyed there tyll y^e lyverie was s'ved.

* At Ricot, Oxfordshire.

^f Elizabeth, first wife of John, Lord Williams, daughter and coheir of Thomas Bledlow, Esq., and widow of Andrew Edmonds, of Gressing Temple in Essex. "The lady Elsabeth, late wyff to the right honorable sir John Williams, knight, lord Williams, baron of Thame, & lord chamberlen to king Phelype, doter of Bledloo, and afore wyff to Andrew Edmondes of Essex, dyed on sonday the 25. of october 1556, and was beryed at Rycot, the 4 of November next folowing."—Machyn's *Diary*, p. 354, from *Harl. MS.* 897, f. 83.

A rememberūnce off hyr entertaynm^t at the Lord Wyllms, and hir io'neye from thense to Woodestocke, the xxij off maye.

Ffyrst, hyr grace was mervolouslye well entertayned, as well in hyr diet as lodgyng, in whyche she cōtinued all that nyght wthoute enye removyng.^s

Itm, at the house off the sayde lorde Wylliams, bettwexte the hower of viij and nyne off the clocke in the mornyng foloweng, hyr grace desyred to goo into the gardeyn there. Uppon hyr wayted thither S^r henrye Bed., wth the ladies and gentlewomen appoynted to hir grace, where havynge nooe shadowe, she desyred to passe to an other garden on the weste syde off the house, where lykewise fynding noe shadowe, she, by hyr desyer, passed to the Orcharde off the same, all by p'vy wayes, and there spendyng the tyme, &c.

Itm, after masse don, hir lyke desyer was to go into the grette galerie thorough the grette Chamber; and beeng lykewyse attended uppon by s^r henrye Bed. and the ladies, wth other appoynted to hir grace, the sayde grette chamber avoyded off the other people, she passed to the same Galerie; wthin the doore of the same galerie there awayted hyr comyng oon Edmonde,^b s'vnte unto hir grace, whooe abydeth at the house off y^e sayde lorde Wylliams, and by leve the nyght before caried a dysh to the doore off the dyneng Chamber.

^s "Being very princely entertained, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, saying unto them that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalfe, letting them to understand that she was the Queen's prisoner, and no otherwise: advising them therefore to take heede and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the Lord of Tame answered in this wise; that he was well advised of his doings, being ioyned in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and should in his house be merry."—*Faxe*, III., 947.

^b A son of Lady Williams by her first husband, Andrew Edmonds, as he is afterwards mentioned as son-in-law to Lord Williams.

Itm, at hir gracs deptyng from the lorde Wyllms,ⁱ hyr grace tooke hir leve at the foote off the stayer from the plo^r, of the ladye Wyllms and all other the gentlewomen there, and so passed thorough the hall, and at the doore off the same tooke hir lytter, where sum peple dydde beholde hyr, and wthoute the gate sū moore.

Itm, passyng by the towne off Whatleye,^k there all the people awayted hir passyng wth godde save yo^r grace.

Itm, lyke was used at Stanton saynte Jone.

Itm, half a myle on that syde Islyppe there was a number off men & chyl dren off the same towne fetchyng hom to the use off the church, as thei sayde, gyven to them by the lorde off the same, a loode off woode, and accordyng to their use, as theye sayde, to be drawn hom by the strenght off men draweng in tracs, and havyng wth them for their furdur sporte a mynstrelle, whom at hyr cōmyng bye she dydde a lyttle beholde, and thei salutying hyr she passed on the waye, and at y^e brydge off the same towne the women off the toune were redye to beholde hyr grace.

Itm, at Goswurth^l hir cōmyng was lykewyse looked for, from whense she passed streyght to Woodstock; and at the parke gate awayted hyr cōmyng the fosters & kepers off the parke, and at the gate off the house were sū peple ga-

ⁱ "The next day, as she should take her iournie toward Woodstocke, the Lord of Tame with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dropping the crownes, the Ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied and sayd, she would see the game played out, which sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing, drop vie crownes, Come on sayth he: I will tarry, sayth she, and will see this game out. After this, sir Henry went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foote-carpet, very faire and princelike, wherein presumptuously he sate, and called one Barwike his man to pull off his bootes, which as soone as it was known among the Ladies and Gentles, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorne, observing his undiscreeete maners in that behalfe, as they might very well."—*Foote*, III., 948.

^k Wheatley, Oxfordshire.

^l Gosford, in the parish of Kidlington, Oxfordshire.

thered, where also stode wth in the same gate Syxe off the keps off the same house, weopened wth forest bylls, at whyche gate she entered and passed towards hyr lodgyng after hyr lyghtyng oute off the lytter, after whyche tyme she sturred notte that nyght.^m

M^d, that at hir comyng to Woodestock there was onelye p'pared for hyr grace fower Chambers hanged wth the quenes stuff and hir gracs owen.ⁿ

Itm, that in the hoole house there were butte three doores onelye that were able to be locked and barred, to the grette disquiet and troble off mynde off the psons comaunded to attende upon hir grace in so large an house and unacqueynted countraye.

Itm, the lorde Willms and S^r leonard Chamberlayne,^o whoe hadde awayted upon hir grace all the same iourneye frome Rychemonde to Wodestocke, havyng In nombre iiij^{xx} and x horsemen by estimacōn, dydde lye that nyght them selves at the lodge in Woodestocke parke, and there supped that nyght and dyled the nexte daye.

Itm, that my lorde Willms cam unto my ladies grace, aboute tooe off the clocke in the afternoone uppon the xxiiijth off maye, and tooke hys leve off hyr, and so deputed to hys owen house.

^m "The souldiers guarding and warding both within and without the wals, every day to the number of 60, and in the night without the wals 40, during the time of her imprisonment there."—*Forc*, III., 948.

ⁿ At Woodstock she was not lodged in the royal apartments, but in the gate-house of the palace. The room called "The Princess Elizabeth's Chamber" was demolished in 1714 by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Holinshed has preserved the rude couplet which she wrote with a diamond on a pane of glass in a window of this room. "Much suspected, by me nothing proved can be, quoth Elizabeth, prisoner."—Strickland's *Lives*, VI., 111.

^o Sir Leonard Chamberlayne belonged to the branch of that family settled at Shirborne, Oxfordshire. He adhered to the Roman Catholic religion, and was knighted after the coronation of Mary, Oct. 2, 1553.

The Counsellis letters wth the quenes instruccōns concerning my ladye Elizabeths order at Woodestocke.

After o^r ryght hartye cōmendacōns, we have receyved yo^r l^res and sene yo^r ar^{les} of the pcedyngs hytherto in yo^r charge, whyche beeng by us reported unto the quenes highnes, as hyr grace lyketh yo^r doengs verye well and wyllled us to gyve yow thanks on hir behalf, even so hir highnesse douteth notte butte yow wyll continewe as yow have be gonne, foloweng such instruccōns as ye shall herewth receyve. and touchyng Parye,^p we see nooe cause whye he sholde make eny longer aboode there, but maye well depte thense accordynge as was before hys going thither signified unto hym by me the l. Thresorer.^q and as for moneye, eyther the sayde Parye maye delyver it to a Clarke off the Kechen to be defrayde from tyme to tyme, or ells unto Thomew,^r who

^p Thomas Parry, so frequently mentioned in these letters, was Cofferer to the Princess Elizabeth, and greatly trusted by her. A long account of his examination, when she was first accused, will be found in Haynes's *State Papers*, p. 155. He continued in her service during her imprisonment at Woodstock, notwithstanding the above direction of the Council and the suspicions of Bedingfield. At her accession to the throne he was knighted, and made a Privy Councillor and Comptroller of the Household, and in 1560 was appointed Treasurer of the Household. "Sir Thomas Parry, or ap Harry, alias Vaughan, Knight, was son and heir of Henry Vaughan, of the house of Vaughan of Tretower, by Gwentlyan, daughter of William ap Grono of the county of Brecknock. He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Reed, of Borestall in Buckinghamshire, and widow successively of Sir Giles Greville and Sir Adrian Fortescue; by which lady he had two sons and two daughters: Sir Thomas; Edmund; Muriel, married to Sir Thomas Knevet, of Ashwelthorpe in Norfolk; and Frances, to John Abrahall, of the county of Hereford. Sir Thomas Parry possessed the estate of Hampstead-Marshall in Berkshire, now belonging to Lord Craven, and built a magnificent house there, which was pulled down about a century since."—Lodge's *Illustrations*, I., 370.

^q The Marquis of Winchester.

^r Mr. Thomew, or Tomyo, and his wife appear to have been persons of much confidence in the household of Elizabeth. They are frequently men-

is p'sently thither towards hys charge. Thus wee bydde
yow most hartylve well to fare. ffrom saynte Jamys the
xxvjth of maie, 1554.

yo^r lovyng ffrendez,

Postscript. for yo^r better order duryng the tyme
of yo^r charge, yow shall understonde the quenes
hignesse plesure by hir gracs sent herwth.

STE. WINTON, ^a cancell.	WINCHESTER.
	HENRYE SUSSEX. ^b
THO. NORWICEN.	WYLLM PAGET. ^c
EDWARD HASTYNGS. ^d	WILLM PETRE.
THO. WHARTON. ^e	E. WALDEG ^a VE. ^f
	JOHN HUDDYLSTON. ^g

tioned in this correspondence ; and also in the *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*. (By Sir F. Madden.) Mrs. Thomew is afterwards ordered to attend the Queen's marriage.

^a Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chancellor, too well known to need much mention here. He was born at Bury St. Edmund's in 1483, and became secretary to Wolsey, and thence in favour with Henry VIII., who appointed him Secretary of State, and in November, 1531, Bishop of Winchester. He was in prison during most part of the reign of Edward VI., and deprived of his bishopric, which was restored to him by Mary, who appointed him Lord Chancellor, August 23, 1553. As to his treatment of Elizabeth, historians differ; some considering him her best friend, others her greatest enemy. His real principles, if he had any, were not easy to fathom, according to the account given by Lloyd, in his *State Worthies*, who says, "He never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he said, and never said what he thought; whereby he carried it so that others should do his business when they opposed it, and he should undermine theirs when he seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like the Hebrew, backward: if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not." He died November 12, 1555.

^b Henry Ratcliffe, second Earl of Sussex, K.G., K.B., Viscount and Baron Fitzwalter. He was among the first who declared for Queen Mary, under whom he held several minor offices. He was an active agent in the persecution of the Protestants, and died Feb. 17, 1556.

A memoriall gyven by the quenes highnes unto hir trustie and ryght well beloved counsellor s^r henrye Bed. knyght, for the p^rposes ensuyng. xxi. maii 1554.^a

MARYE THE QUEENE.

Ffyrst, where as wee have appoynted o^r syster the ladye Elizabeth, for diverse goode cōsideraōns, to be removed from o^r Tower off London unto o^r manor off Wodestock, there to remayne untill we shall otherwise determyn. The sayde S^r henrye Bed. havynge in hys companie suche number off psons as wee have appoynted for that p^rpose, shall make hys abode and gyve hys attendūnce wthin o^r sayde house of Wodestocke

† William Paget, K.G., first Lord Paget. He rose to eminence through his own abilities, and had been appointed Comptroller of the Household in 1547; and in 1550, December 3, made Baron Paget of Beaudesert. He was accused and imprisoned in 1551; but returned to the royal favour at the accession of Mary, and made Lord Privy Seal in 1556. He died in 1563, and his monument remains in Lichfield Cathedral. His portrait is given by *Lodge*, Vol. II.

† Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, second son of George, first Earl of Huntingdon. He was afterwards (1556) appointed Lord Chamberlain, and created Lord Hastings of Loughborough, Jan. 19, 1558. He died at Stoke Pogeis, Bucks, in 1558, and the barony became extinct.

† Thomas Wharton, first Lord Wharton, summoned to Parliament Jan. 30, 1545. He held several military offices under Queen Mary, and died August 23, 1568.

† Sir Edward Waldegrave. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, and had been imprisoned by Edward VI., together with his uncle, Sir Robert Rochester, for refusing to forbid the celebration of Mass in the household of the Princess Mary. At her coronation he was knighted, and appointed Master of the Great Wardrobe and a Privy Councillor. He was committed to the Tower by Elizabeth in 1561, and died there in the same year. The present Earl Waldegrave is his descendant.

† Sir John Huddleston, Knt., from whose house at Sawston, Cambridge-shire, Queen Mary rode to Framlingham at the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey. He died Nov. 4, 1557.

† The *original* of this document is in the Editor's possession. It is of some importance, as giving the Queen's reasons for continuing the imprisonment of her sister, and the manner in which she wished her to be treated.

aboute the pson off o^r sayde Syster, and in hys s[']vice to govern hym selfe as foloweth.

Itm, when comōditee shall s[']ve he shall brefelye declare as well to suche gentlemen as wee have p[']sentlye addressed our l[']res unto for hys assistance in o^r s[']vice as to suche other also as shall have occasion to repare unto hym, the cause off o^r sayde systers late cōmittyng to the Toure, wheroff all though she be not hitherto thoroughlye clered, yet have we, for hir better quiet and to the ende she maye be the moore honorablye used, thought mete to appoynte hyr to remayne at o^r sayde manno^r off Wodestock untill suche tyme as certayn matters towchyng hir case w^{ch} bee not yet clered maye be thoroughlye tried and examined.

Itm, the sayde s^r henrye Bed. shall cause my sayde syster to be saflye loked unto for the salfegarde off hir pson, havyng neverthesse regarde to use hyr In suche goode & honorable sorte as maye be agreable to o^r honor and hir estate & degree.

Itm, he shall at tymes convenient suffer o^r sayde syster, for hir recrea^ōn, to walke abroode and take the ayre In the gardeyns off o^r sayde house, so as he hym self be p[']nt in hir cōpanie.

Itm, he shall cause goode hede to be gyven to o^r sayde systers behavo^r, for seeng that nether she be suffered to have conference wth anye suspected pson oute off hys heryng, nor that she dooe by eny menes eyther receyve or sende eny message, l[']re, or token to or from eny manner off pson.

Itm, he shall generallye have goode regarde not onlye to the pmiss accordyng to the trust reposed In hym, but shall also dooe hys beste to cause the countreye thereaboute to be continued In goode and quiet ordre, usyng eyther for that p[']pose or for enye other matter that shall occurre the advyse and assistance off the sayde gentlemen whome wee have p[']sentlye addressed o^r l[']res unto for that p[']pose; and yff anye matter shall happen towchyng thys hys charge worthye ad-

v'tisem^t, he shall immediately signify the same unto o^r p^rvie counsell attendyng uppon o^r p^rson, to thende suche farther ordre maye bee by them taken in that behalf as shall be convenient.

MARYE THE QUEENE.

My letter answareyng to the former the Counsells letters.

So yt ys, most honorable lords, that uppon the return off my brother Umfree,^b I receyved instrucōns, signed wth the quenes m^{att}ies hande and inclosed In a letter signed by yo^r lordshipps as a warrante to directe my s^rvise howe to be used duryng the quenes m^{att}ies plesure, trustyng onlye In godde to make me able to dooe and accomplish the same. I travell and shall dooe to the best off my powre tyll godde and hir hyghnesse shall otherwyse dispose for me, wyschyng y^t sholde yt sholde cū to passe, yff yt maye so stonde wth hir hyghnesse goode contentacōn and yo^r hono^r. as towchyng the fyfte article, whyche p^rporteth thys in effecte, that I sholde not suffer my ladye Elizabeths grace to have conference wth anye suspecte p^rson out of my heryng, that she dooe by eny menes eyther receyve or sende enye message, letter, or token to or from enye manner off p^rson, w^{ch} under yo^r honorable corrections I must thus answeare to, That as towchyng conference wth suspected p^rsons, yff yo^r l. mene straungers and suche as bee notte daylye attendyng uppon hir p^rson by yo^r assents and privitees, wth the helpe above sayde I dare take uppon me that to dooe. But yff yow mene generall conference wth all p^rsons, as well wthin hir howse as wthoute, I shall beseeche yow off p^rdon, for that I dare not take uppon me, nor yet for message, letter, or token w^{ch} maye be conveyed by enye off the three women off hyr p^rvye Chamber, hir tooe groomes off

^b Humphrey Bedingfield, the fourth son of his father.

the same, or the yeoman off the robes, all w^{ch} psons and non others be wth hir grace at hyr goyng to hyr lodgyng, and pte off them all nyght, and untill suche tyme as hir grace cometh to hyr dyneng Chamber; the Gromes always after goeng abrode wthin the house havyng full opportunitie to do suche matter as ys afore p^hibited; and herunto I beseeche yo^r hono^r aske my l. Chamberlayn^c whether yt bee wthin possibilitie for me to doo yt or nooe, whose order in all thyngs I have and dooe accordyng to my poore wytte and indevo^r put in use, and uppon hys declaracon to directe order possible.

At the p'sente wrytyng hereoff, oon Marberye, my ladies gracs s'vnte, broute hys wyff, Elizabeth Marberye, to have been receyved to have wayte uppon hyr grace In the steade off Elizabeth Sande;^d and bycause I receyved nooe manner off warrunt from you, my l., to dooe yt, I have required the sayde Marberie to staye hym self and hys wyff hereabouts tyll I myght receyve the same; w^{ch} I praye yow to dooe wth all spede, ffor theye been verye poore folks and unable to bere there own chargs, as I pceyve.

Hyr grace, thanks be unto godde, continueth In resonable

^c Sir John Gage.

^d Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Sands or Sondes, Esq., of Throwley, Kent. It appears from these directions about her, that her removal, which caused so much grief to Elizabeth, was not from the Tower, as historians state, but from Woodstock. The reasons given are her "evil opinion," being "a woman to be looked unto for her obstinate disposition." She afterwards lived an exile at Geneva and Basle, till the death of Mary.—*Foxe*, III., 932. She retained the favour of her mistress, for we find among Queen Elizabeth's New Year's Gifts, in 1562, (Nichols's *Progresses*, I., 112) "By Mrs. Sands, sixe handkercheves wrought with flowers of silk and gold, edged with gold. To Mrs. Sands, oone gilt bolle with a cover, and oone gilt sponse." Also "To Mrs. Marbery, oone guilt cup with a cover." Mrs. Sands afterwards became the second wife of Sir Maurice Berkeley (not Bartlett as Foxe states), standard-bearer to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth. She died June 16, 1585, aged 53, and was buried at St. John's, Clerkenwell.—*Hasted's Kent*, II., 424.

helth and quietnesse, as far as I can pceyve; but she claymeth pmisys off the mouth off my lorde Thresorer ° and Chamberlayn † to have the lib'tie off walke wth in all the hoole parke off Wodestocke. Thys she hath caused to cū to myn eare by my Ladye Graye,‡ but never spake it to me by expresse wordes. At myn awaytyng uppon hir grace at M. Dormers gardeyn, she wylled me to make suite for hyr to the quenes highnesse and you, my l., that hir grace myght have oon Johēs Pictones,^h w^{ch} In hir youth dydde teche hyr div'se tungs, w^{ch} for lacke off conference she sayde then she was lykelye to loose. As yt sholde seeme hir grace hadde sente to Parrye, hyr Coferer, for certayn books; butte the sayde Parrye sayde yt was don off hys owen devise; tooe off whyche he sente to me, the oon Tullies Offices, the other was the booke off Davids psalmes In latten; both w^{ch} I returned to hym ageyn for lacke off warrunts as afore. Takyng a byll off the namez off all the books w^{ch} he hadde in redines as he sayde, w^{ch} I sende to yo^r lordshipps to be sene.

Hyr grace hath notte hytherto made eny request to walke in enye other place then In the over and nether gardens wth the orcharde; w^{ch} yff she happen to dooe, I must nedes answer I neyther dare or wyll assente unto yt, tyll by the quenes highnes and yo^r hono^r I be authorised that to dooe. As towchyng the quiet state and condiçon off thys Countrie, I understonde no more then I dooe by thys berer advertise

° The Marquis of Winchester.

† Sir John Gage.

‡ Lady Anne Grey, one of Elizabeth's attendants.

^h Nothing appears to be known of this early instructor of Elizabeth. Grindal was her tutor in her childhood, and afterwards the celebrated Roger Ascham, who had the highest opinion of her talents. Her master for the Italian language was Castiglione. "She was an accomplished Latin scholar, and astonished some of the most erudite linguists of that age by the ease and grace with which she conversed in that language. French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish, she both spoke and wrote with the same facility as her native tongue."—*Strickland*, VI., 17.

yo^r l. off, together wth certayn deposiçons agaynst oon henrye esquier, taken before Syr Willm Raynsforde and me, w^{ch} uppon the same semed so heynouse, that he & I both thought yt our dueties to sende unto yo^r lordeshippes the bodye off the sayde esquire, wthoute enye talkyng wth hym.

There was also oon Laurence Harryse broute before us, whose confession I also sende unto yo^r l. under hys owen hande, whose offense was wayed by us to be moche inferio^r to the other, and therefore wee dydde lette hym to bale wth tooe sufficient suerties, eche off them In xx^{li}. and he hym self In xl^{li}. to appere at all tymes wheresever the quenes highnes & yo^r l. shall cōmaunde the same, orells at the next generall Sessions to be holden at Oxenforde, and in the mene tyme to be of goode aberyng.

I sende yo^r Lordshippes also a reporte in wrytyng off Charles Smyth, the Grome off the pantrie wth hir grace, w^{ch} wthoute license depted from Syr Wyllm Dormers house unto a towne called p^{nc}s Isbrough,¹ In Buckyng^mshire, to manns house In the same towne whose name ys Ffruncys Pigotte, wth the examinaçon off hys doengs there taken by Syr Wyllm Dormer and George Wright, under there owen hande. I have not gyven order off punyshm^t for hys sayde offence bycause that Syr Wyllm Dormer dydde non erst then thys p^sente daye sende unto me the deposiçon off the sayde ffrancys Pigotte and others: hytherto he hath remayned In the warde of hys owen felowe the yeoman off the pantrie, wherfore I praye yo^r lordeshippes gyve order for hys punishm^t.

I have founde verye moche diligence in S^r John Broune,² S^r John Harecourte, and Syr Wyllm Raynsfurth, to be redye to s^ve the quenes M^{tie} uppon occasion nedefull, and the pffe by doeng hath fallen off the late off Syr Wyllm Raynsforde, wherin he hath acquitted hymself wordely.

M. Parrye, my l. gracs Coferer, uppon declaraçon off yo^r

¹ Princes Risborough.

² Sheriff of Oxfordshire at the time.

plesure for hys deature, hath put hym In a redines to do the same; and uppon talke wth hym, yt was agreeede bettwyxt us that the house sholde remayne off the psons all redye here placed, wthoute eny newe acqueyntunce; wherunto I wolde esselye consente, yff yo^r lordeshippes co^maunde notte the contrarye.

Cornwallys, the gentleman usher, dydde move me to assente that the cloth off estate sholde be hanged upp for hyr grace, wherunto I directlye sayde naye tyll yo^r lordeshippes plesures were known therein.

I pceyve yt wyll be chargeable to the quenes m^{tie} to have adv^tisem^t from hense by poste horse, w^{ch} shall make me abstayne as moche as I maye possiblye, onles yo^r lordeshippes do encourage me thereunto: yet thys lewde felowe whom I nowe sende unto yow ys well able to bere all chargs, as I am info^rmed.

At this p'sente wee here nooe worde of M. Thomew.

Thus wth myn humble duetye to all yo^r honours, I comitte the same to o^r lorde allmyghtye, ffrom wodestocke, the xxvijth off maye, A^o 1554 & A^o 1^o Regine marie.

Postscript. There was sum peryll off fyer¹ wthin the house, w^{ch} wee have, wthoute eny losse to be regarded, escaped, thanks be unto god.

The Counsell's letters answareing to theys.

After o^r ryghte hartye comendacōns, wee have receyved yo^r l^res off the xxvijth of thys p'sente, together wth yo^r

¹ "Which began to kindle betweene the boards & seeling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a crany, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire which was there ioynd the same time with sir Henry Benifield in keeping that Lady, (who then tooke up the boards and quenched the fire) verily supposed it to be done of purpose."—*Foxe*, III., 949.

adv'tisements, For yo^r travell wherin we gyve yow, on the quenes highnesse behalfe, oure verye hartye thanks, and where ye desyre to be resolved of certayn doutez w^{ch} yow gather upon yo^r instrucōns, ye shall understonde that all though wee well knowe ye cannot mete suche inconvenience as maye happen by those that attende upon the ladye Elizabeth in bryngyng^u unto hir letters, messages, or tokens, yet yff ye shall use yo^r diligence and wysdome ther as ye shall see cause, yt shall be yo^r sufficient discharge. as for Straungers, ye must forsee that nooe psons suspecte have anye conference wth hyr at all; and yet to pmitte such straungers whom ye shall thynke honeste and not suspicious, uppon enye resonable cause, to speke wth hyr In yo^r heryng onelye. As for placyng off Elizabeth Marburye in lieu of Sandes, l^{res} bee all redye sente from the quenes highnesse unto yow therefore, w^{ch} wee praye yow to se executed accordynglye. Where she claymeth pmise of the L. Thresorer^m and me the lorde Chamberlayn,ⁿ to walke In the parke, as wee have harde nothyng before thys tyme thereof, So do not I the lorde Chamberlayn remember any suche pmise. As towchyng hyr requeste to have John Pyctones, wee knowe not the man, and therefore as yet can make non answare thereunto. We thynke goode ye receve and delyver the books ye wryte off, whyche she requireth to have, foreseeng that non other matter be wrettyn or put in them as may tende to further inconvenience. We retourne herewth unto yow the confession off Laurence Harrys, off whom wee praye yow to take sufficient bonds to make hys psonall apparūnce at the next generall Sessions to be helden In that Countye; at w^{ch} tyme we thynke goode ye sende hys cōfession thither, to thende he maye be furder ordred as apptayneth. Wee also retourn unto yow the bodye off Henry Squire, wth o^r l^{res} and the examinaōns of hys lewde behav^r enclosed, to s^r John Broune & s^r wyllm Raynsforde and other the Justicez off y^e peaxe of

^m The Marquis of Winchester.

ⁿ Sir John Gage.

that Countie, for that yow are not In comission there, whyche o^r letters, when ye have pused and seane o^r ordre herin, we praye yow to sende, together wth the sayde Squier, accordyng to the direction ; and where wee pceyve from yow the sayde Squier to be off abilitie, wee thynke goode ye cause hym to bere hys owen chargs besydes his furder punyshmt^t. As towchyng Smyth, the Grome off the pantrie, ye maye, after ye have gyven hym a rounde checke and a goode admonicon to beware off suche occasions from hensefurth, restore hym ageyn to hys roome. Wee hadde thought Tomewe hadde been or thys tyme wth yow, and have eftsoones given ordre that he shall furwth repare thyther. We sende backe the examinacon sent by docto^r owen^o unto yow towchyng oon John Hyll, whom wee praye yow to cause to be examined by sū off the Justices off the peaxe thereabouts, and, the matter beeng pvyd ageynste hym, to cause hym to be punyshed by setting hym on the pylorye or otherwise as thei shall thynke requisite. Th^a praieng yow to contynue yo^r accustomed goode diligence, wee bydde yow ryght hartylie farewell. From Rychmonde the laste off maye, 1554.

Yo^r assured lovyng frendes.

Postscript. Where m^{res} Poyntz, late mother off the maydes, is depted, the quenes highnes myndyng to have m^{res} Broughton to supplie that roome, dooe mynde to sende Margaret Morton, on off hyr highnes chamber, to gyve attendunce there in m^{res} broughtons place. and therefore hir highnes re-

• George Owen, Physician to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary. He was born in Worcestershire, obtained the degree of M.D. at Oxford in 1527, and was considered one of the most learned men of his time. He was one of the witnesses to the will of Henry VIII., and assisted at the birth of Edw. VI. His letter, prescribing for Elizabeth, will be found further on. He died in 1558, and was buried at St. Stephen's Walbrook, Oct. 24.—Wood's *Athens*, I., 111 ; Machyn's *Diary*, p. 177.

quireth yow at the comyng of y^e sayde Morton to
place hyr, and depeche m^{res} Broughton tattende
here.

ARUNDELL.^p

ROBT. ROCHESTER. WYLLM. PETRE. JOHN GAGE.

HENRYE JERNEGAN.^q

The quenes letters for removyng off Sands and placyng
off Marburye.

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trustye and ryght well beloved, we grete yow well, and
where wee be info^rmed that Sands, one off the women
presentlye attendyng aboute o^r Syster the ladye Elizabeth,
ys a pson off an evyll opinion, and not fyt to remayne aboute
o^r sayde systers pson, we lette yow wyt o^r wyll and plesure
ys, ye shall traveyle wth o^r sayde Syster, and by the beste
meanes ye can pswade hir to be contented to have the sayde
Sands removed from hyr, and to accepte In hir place Eliza-

^p Henry Fitzalan, eighteenth Earl of Arundel, K.G., Lord Steward of the Household and President of the Council. He had been imprisoned by Edward VI. in 1551, but rose to great power and eminence under Queen Mary; his services were also retained by Elizabeth, to whose hand he is said to have aspired. Afterwards, however, he suffered imprisonment, in the fourteenth year of her reign, for taking part with Mary, Queen of Scots. He died in March, 1580, and was buried at Arundel. His portrait is engraved by *Lodge*, Vol. III.

^q Sir Henry Jernegan, or Jerningham, Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, in which offices he was the predecessor of Sir Henry Bedingfield, being appointed to them July 31, 1553. He was the first of the Norfolk and Suffolk knights who declared for Queen Mary at the death of Edward VI., for which service he was rewarded with the offices above mentioned, and grants of several large manors, particularly Costessy, Norfolk, and Wingfield, Suffolk. In 1557, December 25, he was appointed Master of the Horse. He was the builder of Costessy Hall, where he died, Sept. 7, 1572, aged 63.

beth Marberie, an other off hir women, whoe shall be sente thether for that ppose; whom at hyr comyng we require yow to cause to be placed there, and to gyve order that the sayde Sands maye be removed from thence accordynglye. yeven under o^r signet, at o^r mano^r of St Jamys, the xxvjth off may, the ffyrst yere of o^r Reigne.

The Counsellis letter to admitte Smyth to speke wth the ladye Elizabeth.^r

After o^r ryght hartye comēdacōns, where as thys berer, M. Smyth, hath declared unto us, that it doth moche importe hym to speke wth the ladye Elizabeth In a p^vate cace off hyr owen concernyng a lease off a ferme now in hir gracs occupacōn. Theis shall be to signifie unto yow, that the quenes highnes ys plesed that for the necessite off hys cause he shall speke wth the sayde ladye Elizabeth in your psence and heryng, but not otherwise; and therefore In thys sorte ye shall pmitte hym to speke wth hyr uppon hys repayre unto yow wth theis o^r lrēs accordynglye. Thus fare yow hartly well. from sayncte Jamys, the xxviiijth daye off maye, 1554.

Yo^r assured frendes,

STE. WINTON, cancell.	WINCHESTER.	ARUNDELL.
EDWARD DERBYE. ^a	THOMS. NORWICEN.	
WILLM. PAGET.	EDWARD HASTYNGS.	
ROBT. ROCHESTRE.	E. WALDEGRAVE.	

^r A letter in reference to the same subject will be found in Ellis's *Original Letters* (second series), II, 210.

^a Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, K.G. "1573. The foure and twentieth of November, Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanlaie and Strange of Knocking, lord and governor of the Iles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the queens maiesties priuie counsell, deceased at

The Counsell's letters.

After o^r hartye comēdacōns we have receyved your letters off the last off maye, together wth the books ye sent unto us by thys berer; and have made the quenes highnes p^{rv}ie to yo^r doengs in thys behalfe, who taketh yo^r diligence and circumspection used therin, in verye acceptable parte. And albeit wee cannot fynde any matter off suspicion in the sayde books, yet doth the quenes highnes, and we all, thinke yt verye strange that anye pson sholde, off their owne autorite, wthoute ordre or comāndem^t, presume to sende thither eyther books or anye other thing, and therefore doth hir highnes thynke goode, seeng that such p^{rt}iculer occasions off sendyng in & oute off suche thyngs myght padventure sarve to clooke matters off gretter importūnce, that ye dooe hensefurth the rather gyve hede to your charge, and, as ye have well begunne, advoyde therbye the best ye can, the inconvenience that myght growe by sufferyng of thyngs to passe to or froo wthoute your knowledge. And for asmoche as it appereth herebye that suche p^{rv}ate psons as be disposed to disquiet wyll not let to take occasion, if thei maye, to conveye messages or letters in & oute by sū secret practise, hyr M^{ties} further plesure ys for the advoydyng hereof that ye shall hensefurth suffer no manner pson, other then such as arre all redye

his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death, deserving commendation, and craving memorie to be imitated, was such as followeth. His fidelity unto two kings and two queenes in dangerous times and great rebellion, . . . His godlie disposition to his tenants, . . . His liberalitie to strangers, . . . His feeding especiallie of aged persons twice a daie, three score and od. . . . His yeerlie portion for the expenses of his house, foure thouande pounds. His cunning in setting bones disiointed or broken; his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore; his deliverie of the George and seale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might keepe it so unspotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had; and his ioie that he died in the queenes favour. His joyfull parting this world, his taking leave of all his servants by shaking of hands, and his remembrance to the last daie."—*Holmeshead*, IV., 320.

appoynted to be aboute the ladye Elizabeth, to cū unto hir or have enye manner talke or conference wth hir; anye former instruccōns or lres heretofore sente yow to the contrarie not wthstandyng. And, neverthelesse, yff she shall hir self make anye request unto yow for the havynge of any booke that ys honeste and sufferable to rede or passe her tyme wthall, the quenes highnes plesure ys, ye shall cause the same to be sente for and delyvered unto hyr. As for the ptie^t that sente the books, for as moche as amonge other thyngs he maketh mencon in his lres off the lacke off a compas to sette the penne in, w^{ch} words seme to us to be ambiguous and to have sū secret menyng In them, the quenes highnes plesure ys that ye shall furthwth sende for hym, and not onlye gyve hym a sharpe checke for hys psumpcōn used in the sendyng off theis books off hys owen pivate authorite, but also to examyn hym straytelye uppon the sayde words wreten in hys lre, and by the best menes ye can pcure, to understonde off hym what ys mente by them; and off that ye shall have done herin, to return us answer by yo^r nexte. As towchyng the Ladye Elizabeths request to have Dorothee Bradbelte or Elizabeth Norwyche^v to be placed aboute hir in steade off Sands, lyke as the quenes highnesse was at the fyrst, for dyverse goode consideraōns, moved to refuse to have eny off the sayde tooe women placed aboute the ladye Elizabeth, who then made request to have oon off them, even so doth hir Ma^{tie} nowe, for the self respects that moved hyr therto at the fyrst, refuse nowe also to have enye off theese placed there. And therefore requireth yow, seeng Marberye ys all redye cū thither for that ppose, and y^t she ys oon off the ladie Elizabeths women, and hath heretofore s^ved hir in the place off oon off hyr Chambers, to cause hyr to be placed in Sands stede, and to dispatche Sandes thense as soone as ye can, pswadyng the

^t John Fortescue, son-in-law to Parry.

^v Perhaps a relative of Sir Robert Norwich, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1636.

ladye Elizabeth to be cōtented wth thys hyr m^{atties} plesure
and determinaçon. And thus wee bydde yow ryght hartylve
farewell. ffrom Rychemonde, the ij^{de} off June, 1554.

Yo^r assured lovyng frends,

STE. WINTON, cancell.	ARUNDELL.
THOMS. NORWICEN.	JOHN GAGE.
ROBET. ROCHESTRE.	WYLLM. PETRE.

My letter answaring to the foresayde the Counsell
letters.

Maye yt plesse yo^r honorabyll lordeshippes to be adv^{tised}
that I receyved yo^r l^res dated at Rychemonde the ij^{de} off
June. Accordyng to the effecte wheroff, wth godds grace, I
shall imploye my s^{vice} here duryng the tyme off the quenes
plesure. And as towching the placeng off Elizabeth Marberye,
and the sendyng awaye off Elizabeth Sands, the same was
don thys psente daye aboute tooe off the clocke In the after-
noone, not wthoute grette mournyng both off my ladyes grace
and Sands. And she was cōveyde Into the towne by my bro-
ther Edē, and by hym delyvered to M. Parrye, who at my
desyer yesternyght dydde ppare horse and men to be redye
to conveye hyr eyther to Clarkenwell besyde london to hyr
uncle there, orells into Kente to hir father,* towards the w^{ch}
he p^{mised} she sholde gooe. Thys I dooe signifie unto yo^r l.
bycause I thynke hyr a woman mete to be loked unto for hir
obstinate disposicōn. I have wreten also thys psente daye
unto the Chauncelo^r† and Co^mmissarie‡ off the univ^sitee off

* Anthony Sands, Esq., of Throwley, Kent.

† Sir John Mason, Knight.

‡ Dr. Young, Vice-Chancellor. See his disputation with Cranmer.—*Foss*,
III., 67.

Oxforde, and required them by the same to sende me the bodye off Fortescue, to the intente to examyn hym accordyng to yo^r l. comaundm^t, w^{ch} I truste shall be better don by M^r secretarie Bourne,^a whooe thys nyght lieth at Oxforde, whom I have ryght hartlye intreted to take the payne to examyn the sayde fortescue, there beeng a moore apte place for that ppose then to have hadde hym broute afore me. and the sayde M^r secretarie hath p^mised to certifie yo^r lordeshippes off hys hoole doengs in the same, by this y^r l., that M^r Parrye remayneth In the towne off Wodestock at thys psente. and yet I declared unto hym, In the heryng off Syr Wyllm Raynsfurth, yo^r l. former plesure for hys depture mentioned in yo^r letters off the xxvijth off Maye laste passed, for my discharge ffor the nedefull p^vision of thys householde yt hath been thought mete as I here saye by my l. Thresourer^a that the same M. Parie sholde remayn here, the former opinion not wthstandyng, w^{ch} yff yt maye so styll stonde wth yo^r honorabyll resolu^{co}ns, it shall hollye disburdeyn M. Thomew & me off the cares aforesayde, w^{ch}, not offendyng the quenes M^{tie} nor yow, my goode l., for myn own pte I neyther wyll nor dare entermeddle myself wth. and so, as an humble bedeman for the quenes m^{ties} highnes most prosperous ps'va^{co}n, and yo^r l. In hono^r long to cōtynewe, to godds plesure, I take my leve off the same. ffrom Wodestocke, the vth off June, 1554.

An other off my letters to the Counsell.

After myn humble recōmenda^{co}ns, where yt plesed yow uppon the return off my brother Umfrye to sende me yo^r

^a Sir John Bourne, one of the Queen's principal Secretaries. But little is known respecting him, beyond his zeal against the Protestants. He was one of those who were knighted after the coronation of Mary. He died, leaving great estates, at Holt Castle, Worcestershire, May 13, 1575.—Lodge's *Illustrations*, I., 245.

^a The Marquis of Winchester.

letters from Rychemonde off the ij^{de} off thys psente moneth, by whyche massenger yo^r lordeshippes retourned unto me the boke whych I sente yow, alloweng the same to be sufferable for my ladye Elizabeths grace to use yff she sholde happen to desyer the same, w^{ch} hitherto she hath not don for eny booke untill yesterdaye in the mornyng in the tyme off hir walke she demaunded off me whether I hadde eny English bible off the smallest volume or nooe; and I answered hir grace wth troth that I my self had never eny suche; and then hir grace sayde, yff ye wyll sende to my Cofero^r, I am suer he hath. to that I made non answer; yet upon my retourn In, I sente a s^vnte off myn to the sayde M^r Coferer for the books, wheroff I dydde adv^tise yo^r lordeshippes the names In my late letters, and receyved from hym answer that at that tyme he had noone at all; yet at after noone a s^vnte off hys owen broute three books, *Officia tullij*, *De Officijs Marci Tullij Ciceronis libri tres*, and *Psalterium Daviticū cū aliquot cantice ecclesiastice*; uppon the delyverye of the whyche he sayde he was comāunded by hys master to knowe off me howe my ladyes grace lyked the books laste delyvered unto hyr: to that I answered, I knowe off non that cam to hyr hands synst I attended uppon hir grace. And, as I pceyve by thys message hys master hath pfitte knowledge both that I hadde the three books together wth three letters off his sonne In lawes, Jo. Fortescue, sente from Oxforde; and as farre as I knowe by any mene yt must nedes bee the same iij books inclosed wth paper paste w^{ch} yo^r lordeshippes retourned unto me. And as towchyng the sayde John F., although I dydde signifie unto your l. that he sholde be examined by S^r John Bourn, and by hym yo^r l. to be fully adv^tised of that matter, I hadde afore wreten unto the chief officer off the Universite off Oxforde by the name off Co^missarie^b there, for the sending off the sayde F. unto me; and M^r secretarie B. dyd not declare unto the sayde officer that his exāiacon off the sayde

^b Dr. Young.

F. sholde be a determinaçon off that matter, wherupon the foresayde officer sente accordyng to my requeste by a s'vnte off hys owen unto the lodge in W. parke, the same Forescue, the vijth off thys psente, to the w^{ch} place M^r Tomyowe and I immediatlye after dyner repared, and there receyved the answare off the pson aforesayde to the questions ministred unto hym by us ; and herin, amonge other comforts w^{ch} I pceyve I am lyke to have by the companie off M^r Tomiowe in thys s'vice, I hadde a grette helpe off hym at the tyme off the sayde examinaçon, being well lerned as I pceyve, and dryven to remember I am off the same by certayn diffuse words uttered by the sayde F. so moche in the Latten phrase that theye hadde passed my Norff. understandyng, yff the sayde M^r Tomiowe hadde not holpen. Thandswere off the [said] F. ye shall receyve herinclosed, wreten alltogether wth hys owen hande ; but I varie from the said F. in opinion that hys answere in wryghtyng was not off the effecte to the poynte moste materiall in hys letter wreten to hys mother in Englysh, w^{ch} I charged hym wth, to be off this sorte : S^r, I have wreten to yow as moche as I can, onelesse yow sende me the compasse to sette the penne In. To this F. devised that in that sentence off hys letter there was eny suche words as wright ; or that, in a thyrde letter off hys wreten at that tyme, contayneng matters off love, the fyrst sentence off the same shoulde sounde touchyng religion. Th^a wer wee dryven to leve off wth the sayde F. for that tyme for lacke off hys owen letters, w^{ch} by yo^r lordeshippes were not sente ageyn : wherunto he hollye referreth hym self, pluckyng a better stomacke to hym than at the begynnyng, when he onys suerlye pceyved that wee hadde notte the sayde letters ; gyvvyng hym onlye charge to beware off eny suche enterpses hereafter to be doon at hys pell. And yff yo^r l. wyll cōmaunde me further s'vice in that matter, yt ys then requisite yow sende the sayde letters.

I caused my brother Edmonde to repayre to the markette

at Bycesto^r yesterdaye, to thintente to lerne somewhat in the Countrie, and the disposi^on off y^e peple thither reparyng; wth, as he reporteth unto me, ys in verye quiet state to hys pceyving, havyn^g sū tryall therin, as he thought, bycause M^r Shreff there beeng, dydde putte Henrye Squire to the penūce off the pilorie, accordyng to yo^r honorable ordres off late to hym directed; In the tyme wheroff, for hys better coolyng, fell the greteste rayne that cam theys tooe moneths in theys pties, the lacke wheroff hath caused a rayse off pces off all victualls. I have also, accordyng to yo^r cōmaundm^t, wreten unto too Justicez off the peaxe inhabityng nexte Oxforde, and to the mayer off the sayde toun, to examyn oon John Hyll, whose accusa^on taken before M. docto^r owen I dydde inclose in the same there letter, whereoff I have receyved non answer: the lette thereoff ys there beeng at London as yet, as I here saye. My l. Elizabeth's grace continueth in helth accustomed, wth thonelye swellyn^g in the visage at certayn tymes excepted. To me, by expresse words, she hath at nooe tyme founde hir self greved wth hir ordred lib^{te} in walkyng; but to the quenes M^{ties} women, as theye have tolde me, she hath often remembred that groundyng hyr self uppon y^e pmise of my l. Tresorer,^c especiallye to hyr made the daye off hyr deptime from the Toure. Havyn^g nooe thyng to adv^tise yo^r lordshipps of at thys psente, I shall cōmende the quenes M^{ties} and yo^r hono^r to our lorde godde allmyghtie. In my moste humble wyse ffrom Wodestocke the ixth off June, 1554.

The Counsellis lres.

After o^r ryght hartye cōmenda^ons, theys shall be to signifie unto you that wee have receyved yo^r lres, and the examina^on off Fforscue sent wth the same, and lyke as the

^c The Marquis of Winchester.

quenes highnes taketh in verye acceptable pte yo^r earnest & carefull travell in the charge cōmitted unto yow, and doth fullye repose herself for the cōtinunce theroff at yo^r hands. So for adv'tism^t ageyn from hense ye shall understonde that her highnes myndeth to remove to Otelonde aboute thende off thys weeke and nooe soner. There ys goode hoope of the pnc^s^d spedye arrivall in Englonde, ffor wee have certayn knowledge from the weste pties that the Marques de las Navas^{*} arrivyng there wth an expresse message aforehande from the prynce, ys all redye in hys iourneye hytherwards, who wyll make as moch spede towards the Courte as he may convenientlye. And thus wee bydde yow ryght hartlye well to fare, ffrom Rychemonde the xij off June, 1554.

Yo^r assured lovyng frendez,

JOHN GAGE.

ROBT. ROCHESTRE.

HENRYE JERNEGAN.

WILLM. PETRE.

THOMAS WHARTON.

My letters to the Counsell.

Plesyth y^t yo^r honorabyll lordeshippes to be adv'tised that the same daye I laste wrote unto yow, my ladye Elizabeth's grace demanded off me whether I hadde pvyded hir the booke off the bible in English off the smalleste volume or nooe, I answered bycause there wer dyverse latten books in my hands redie to be delyvered yff yt plesed hir to have them, wherin as I thought she sholde have moore delight seeng she understondeth the same so well, therefore I hadde

^d Philip, Prince of Spain.

* See some particulars of the arrival of Philip in Nichols's *Queen Jane and Queen Mary* (Camden Society), pp. 134, 137.

not pydyed the same; whyche answer I pceyved shee tooke not in goode pte. And wthin half an hower after that, in hyr walkyng In the nether gardeyn, in the moste unplesunte sorte that ever I sawe hir synys hir cōmyng from the toure, she called me to hyr ageyn, and sayde in theys words. I have at div'se tymes spoken to yow to wryght to my lords off certayn my requestes, and yow never make me answeere to enye off them. I thynke (quod she) yow make non off my Lords pvie to my suite, but onlye my lorde Chamb'leyn,^f w^{ch}, all though I knowe hym to be a goode gentleman, yet by age and other hys earnest businesse, I knowe he hath occasion to forgette mannye thyngs. To thys I answered, that I dydde never wryght in hyr gracs matters to enye off yow my Lords pvatelye, and sayde unto hyr grace furder, that I thought thys was a tyme that yo^r lordeshippes hadde grette businesse in, and therefore hir grace colde not looke for directe answer upon the fyrst suite. Well, sayde shee, onys ageyn, I require you to dooe thus moche for me, to wryte unto my sayde Lords, and to desyer them on my behalf to be menes unto the quenes m^{tie}, to graunte me leve to wryte unto hir highnes wth myn owen hande, and In thys I praye you lette me have answeere as sone as yow can. To thys I answered, I shall dooe for yo^r grace that I am able to dooe, w^{ch} ys to wryght to my sayde lords, and then yt must nedes reste in their honorabyll cōsideracons whether I shall have answeere or nooe: synys w^{ch} tyme hir grace never spake to me. Suerlye I take yt, that the rememberūce off Elizabeth Sands dep-ting, and the onlye placyng off Marbery In hir roome, clerelye ageynst hir late desyer, ys sum cause off hir greffe. I thynke also she hath gotten knoweledge off the books that Fortescue had lately in a redinesse to have ben conveyde to hyr by hys Father in lawes menes, w^{ch} lieth wonderously fyte to dooe theys enterpses yff he be disposed thereto. Suerlye, as I have declared to yo^r hono^r, there ys an evident

^f Sir John Gage.

waye that I cannot avoyde by enye possible mene, butte that daylye & howerlye the sayde Parye maye have & give intelligence, But bycause I knowe nothyng off the man, therefore the judgem^t off hym I must nedes referre to yo^r Lordeshippes. From the sayde M^r. Parye from my brother Ed., I dooe understonde that he maketh yt a grette donte, how to be allowed the diet, w^{ch} by yo^r Lordeshippes order I hadde appoynted me to be wth in my Ladyes gracs householde, and the nomber off xx^{ti} psons wth me, w^{ch} wth godds grace I shall at nooe tyme excede, and also for M^r. Tomioo and his three s'vunts, w^{ch} as farre as I knowe taketh no more allouñce then I hadde before hys comyng. For wee and o^r s'vnts kepe all together. To thys he sayth yt sholde bee hys pte to have a warrūnte In wrytyng redye to be showde for hys discharge. M^r. Cornwallice, the gentleman usher wth hir grace, ys fallen in to an olde disease off an unclene legge so that he wayteth stante tooe dayes In a weeke, and hir grace dryven to be s'ved in hys place wth a groome off hir pvie Chamber. Wherefore, maye yt plesse yo^r lordeshippes to devise sū honest man to yow known to be sente wth warrunte to s've In hys place. One Verneye,^s hir grace s'vñte, hath lyne wth the Coferer ev' synyth hys cōmyng to Wodestocke. I praye godde yt hath been all for goode: by eny thyng that I can lerne I am not psuaded to have a goode opinion in hym. Edmonds, hir gracs s'vnte, son in lawe to the Lorde Wylliams, hath been here wth tooe psents to hyr grace; the on wth freshewater fyshe, the other off tooe dedde fesunte Cocks; who at both hys cōmyngs made verye longe abode

^s Francis Verney, fourth son of Sir Ralph Verney, suffered death, for taking part in the Dudley Conspiracy, two years afterwards. "On Tuesday last was arraigned & condemned at the Guildhall one Lewkmore, the Groom Porter, Francis Verney, & Captain Turner."—*Letter from Robert Swift to Lord Shrewsbury*, June 22, 1556. (Lodge's *Illustrations*, I., 268.) Machyn mentions the same in his *Diary*, and adds that they were "cast to be drane, hangyd, and quartered."—p. 108.

amonge hir gracs s'vñts, and wolde not cū at me tyll at thys laste tyme I sente for him, and in the heryng off master Tomiow I dydde talke wth hym for hys sayde abode, and he wth verye fayer words answered me, that he neyther dydde nor wolde do enye thyng contrarye to hys alledgiūnce. wher-uppon I advised hym, hys fayer words not wth stondyng, to abstayne tyll he knewe furder to repare eny more hyther, or to sende eny more psents, and to take knowledge thereof pereremptorylie, and so sente hym awaye. Thys I am enforced, by the importunate desyer off thys grette Ladye, to trouble yo^r L. wth moore letters then be contentefull to myn owen opinion, wherin I shall desyer yo^r favorabyll beryng wthall, remayneng In thys the quenes Maties house off Wodestocke as hir poore bedeman & s'vnte, I shall moste humblye cōmende yo^r L. to o^r Lorde godde allmyghtye. The xiith off June, 1554.

The Councells letter.

After o^r verye hartye cōmendacons, wee have receyved yo^r letters of the xijth off thys moneth, wherbye wee pceyve the continūnce off yo^r goode circūspection & diligence In the charge cōmitted unto yow, w^{ch} wee have reported to the quenes highnes, whoe taketh yo^r doengs therein In verye acceptable pte, and gyveth yow hyr hartye thanks for the same. And as towchyng the ladye Elizabets requeste, ye maye pryde hir the Englysh bible she requireth, and in the reste satisfie hir wth sū generall goode words untill ye maye have farther answer from hense. As for the difficulte that Parrye maketh for the allouñce off yo^r diets, wee dooe for the avoydyng thereof sende yow herewth the quenes highnesse warrūnte addressed unto hym for that ppose, w^{ch} ye maye cause to be delyvered unto hym for hys better dis-

charge In that behalf. And Seeng Cornwalllys, the ladye Elizabeths gentleman usher, ys as ye wryte in suche case as he cannot well s've In that roome, ye maye cause hym to be removed thence, and In hys place to receyve Smyth, whoe also hath heretofore s'ved her In that roome, forseing that before thys manns placyng, the other be removed thense, and thus referryng all other thyngs to be used by yo^r discession accordyng to yo^r former Instrucōns, we bydde yow ryght hartylve farewell. ffrom Rychemounte the xiiijth off June, 1554.

Postscript. The quenes ma^{te} ys also plesed that the ladye Elizabeths grace maye wryte to hir highnes accordyng to hir desyre. The quenes highnes ys plesed that M^{res} Tomew shall be absent for xxⁱⁱ dayes to putte hir selfe in a redines tattende uppon the quenes highnes at her marriage,^b & that the ladye Graye shall be removed as soone as on maye be found tattende In hir roome, wheroff ye shall be adv'tised.

ARUNDELL.

PENBROK.ⁱ

JOHN GAGE.

ROBERT ROCHESTRE.

WILLM. PETRE.

HENRY JERNAGAN.

The Copie off the warrūnte ffrom the quenes highnes to M^r Parrye, my ladyes gracs Coferer.

BY THE QUENE.

Trustie and well beloved, we grete yo well. Where besydes certayn other off the ordinarie s'vnts off o^r Suster the Ladye

^b The marriage took place six weeks afterwards, July 25, 1554, at Winchester Cathedral.— See the account of it in Nichols's *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 167.

ⁱ William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, created Oct. 10, 1551; Master of the Horse and K. G. in 1548; a nobleman of much influence and power. He died March 17, 1570, and was buried at St. Paul's, at a cost of £2000.

Elizabeth, our ryght trustye & well beloved s'vñte and Councello^{ur}, Syr Henrye Bedyngfelde, knyght, with xxⁱⁱ s'vñts, [*blank*] Tomewe, wth three s'vñts, be appoynted to gyve their attendūnce uppon here, wee lette yow wete o^r plesure & cōmaundm^t ys, that wth such off o^r sayde Susters Revenues as ys or shall cū to yo^r handes ye shall see aswell the sayde Syr Henrye Bedyngfelde and Tomewe and their sayde s'vñtes, as also the reste off those that arre appoynted tattende aboute o^r sayde Suster, furnyshed wth convenient pvision off victualls and thyngs necessarie for their tables, and the charge theroff discharged from tyme to tyme as appertayneth. And theese o^r letters shall be yo^r warrunte and discharge In thys behalf. Yeven under o^r signette at oure manner off Rychemont, the xiiij. daye off June, the fyrst yere off o^r Reign.

The Counsells letter.

After o^r verye hartye comēdacons, wee have seene yo^r letters wreten unto me, the Lorde Chamb'layn,^k and dooe thereby pceyve the requeste made unto yow by the Ladye Elizabeths grace to be meanes to obtayne the quenes highnes answere to the letter she latelye sente to hir Matie. The answere wherunto maye appere unto yow by hir highnes lre, p^sentlye sente unto yow, whiche, when wee shall have cōsidered, ye maye reporte the effecte thereof unto the Ladye Elizabeth as ye shall see cause accordynglye. As towchyng the phesician that she desyreth maye be sente unto hir, wee wolde be gladd to satisfie hir requeste in thys parte; but for as moche as docto^r hewes¹ hath been off late evyll at ease,

^k Sir John Gage.

¹ Thomas Hewes, or Hughes, M.D. of Oxford in 1547. Physician to Queen Mary, 1553; died August 1558.

and ys not yet thoroughlye recovered, and m^r Wendye^m ys pntlye absente from the Courte, there can not nowe bee anye off the quenes hignes phesicians sente thither, none off them remayneng but M^r Owen, whooe neverthelesse hath comended unto us two honest lerned men remayneng at Oxforde, the one called Docto^{ur} Barnes and the other Walbec, whom he reporteth to be verye skylfull men. yff she thynke fyte to have anye off them, the quenes highnes ys plesed that ye shall gyve ordre that thei or oon off them shall repare thither for that p^rpose. And thus for referringg yow for answeere off the reste off yo^r letter unto o^r former letters latelye sente unto yow, wee bydde yow most hartlye farewell. From Fernehm̄ the xxvth of June, 1554.

Yo^r assured lovyng ffrendes,

STE. WINTON, cancell.

PENBROK.

THOMS. ELY, elect.ⁿ

WYLLM. PAGETTE.

JOHN GAGE.

T. CHEYNER.^o

ROBT. ROCHESTRE.

WYLLM. PETRE.

JO. BOURNE.

^m Thomas Wendy, M.D. of Cambridge, a witness to the will of Henry VIII. and Physician to him, Edward VI., and Mary. He died May 1560.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 280.

ⁿ Thomas Thirlby, Bp. of Ely, translated from Norwich: already noticed.

^o Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G., Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1540; Treasurer of the Household, 1541. He died Dec. 8, 1558. "His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in service was such as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the sixt, queene Marie and queene Elisabeth, used him as one of all their privie counsell, and was treasurer of all their honorable houtholds during his life. He was brought up in king Henrie the sevenths house, and was one of his henchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had served three kings and two queenes. His truth was such to all these princes, that he ever lived towards them sine macula, serving in the Court three score years. . . . In the end he was so worthie a gentleman, and such a necessarie member of the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English hearts. But the almightie must be served when his good will and pleasure is."—*Holinshead*, IV., 157.

The quenes letter.

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trustie & well beloved, wee grete yow well. And where our plesure was off late signified unto yow for the lady Elizabeth to have licens to wryght unto us, we have now receyved her letters, contayneng onlye certayn arguments devised for hir declaracon in such matters, as she hath been charged wthall by the voluntarie confessions off divers others; In w^{ch} arguments she wolde seme to pswade us that the testimonie of thoose w^{ch} have opened matters ageynst hir eyther were not suche as theye bee, or beeng suche sholde have no credit. But as wee were most sorye at the begynnyng to have enye occasion off suspicion; So when yt appered unto us that the copies off her secrette lres unto us were founde in the pacquete off the Frenche Imbassato^r,^p that div'se off the most notable trayto^r^q made their chief accompte uppon hir, wee can hardlye be broute to thynke that thei wolde have psumed so to doo, excepte thei hadde hadde more certayn knowledge off hir favo^r towards their unnaturall conspiracie then ys yet by hir confessed. And therefore, though we have for o^r parte, consideryng the matters broute to o^r knowledge ageynst hir, used more clemencie and favo^r toward hir then In the lyke matters hath been accustomed,

^p Bishop Gardiner had stopped a packet from M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador, in which was a copy of a letter believed to be written by Elizabeth to the King of France.

^q Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Peter Carew. Wyatt, at his execution, "openly, in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady Elizabeth to be free and innocent from all suspicion."—*Foxe*, III., 40. Elizabeth, in her letter to the Queen on her committal, says, "as for the traitor Wyatt, he might, peradventure, write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him; and as for the copy of the letter sent to the French King, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means, and to this truth I will stand in till my death."—*Strickland*, VI., 90; *Ellis's Original Letters*, (second series), II., 257.

yet cannot these fayer words so moche abuse us, but we dooe well understonde how thyngs have been wrought. Conspiracies be secretlye practised, and thyngs off that nature be mannye tymes iudged by pbable coniectures and other suspitions and arguments, where the playne directe prove maye chaunse to fayle. Even as wise Solomon Iudged who was the true mother off the childe by the womans behaviour & words, when other pve fayled and coulde not be hadde. By the argument and circūstuncez off hir sayde lfe, wth other articles declared on yo^r behalf by yo^r brother to o^r pvie Counsell, yt maye well appere hir menyng and p^rpose to be farre otherwise then hir letters p^rporteth; wherfore o^r pleasure ys not to be hereafter enye moore molested wth suche her disguise & colourable letters, but wysh for hir that yt maye plesse o^r lorde to graunte hir his grace to be towards hym as shee ought to be; then shall shee the soner be towards us as becu^meth hir. Th^s moche have wee thought goode to wryte unto yow, to thintente ye myght understonde theeffecte off those letters, and so continewe yo^r accustomed diligence in the charge by us comitted unto yow. Yeven under o^r signet at the Castle of Farneh^m the xxvth daye off June, the fyrste yere off o^r reigne.

Message delyvered to my brother Edmonde to declare over to my lorde Chamberlayne.^r

Fyrst, to declare to my lord Chamberlayne that my l. Elizabeths grace ys daylye vexed wth the swellng in the face and other pts off hir bodye, to graunte that shee maye have docto^{ur} Huycke,^a accompanied wth docto^{ur} Wendye or docto^{ur} Owen,

^r Sir John Gage.

^a Robert Huycke, or Huick, M.D. of Cambridge; incorporated at Oxford and Fellow of Merton College, 1566, afterwards physician to Queen

the quenes maiesties phesiōns, Immediately to repare unto hir, whose counsell she m'uelouslye desyreth, to devise remedie for Swellyng in hir face and other pts off hir bodye, w^{ch} I dooe see hir grace often vexed wthall.

Itm, to desyer my l. Chamberleyn to knowe the Counsells plesure whether my ladyes grace maye receyve eny psente off fysh or off fleshe or other victuall, from eny man or nooe.

Itm, whether she maye have lib'tee to make hir warrunte In wrytyng, signed wth hir owen hande, to be served of venison from eny hir owen gracs grounds or no. For uppon the declaracōn off master Parye, y^t hath been denyed by sū off hir kepers all redye, not wthstondyng hys owen letter sente to them for that p'pose at Enville.

Itm, as towching Cornwalllice to be removed from hense, And oon Rychard Smyth to be placed In hys roome, I dooe here crediblye that the same Rychard hath been longe sycke and not so recovered as he ys able to s'ue as yet, wheruppon I retayne Cornwallyce styll, tyll his l. take further direction for sum other manne to be sente hyther to serve In that roome. I dooe here saye, there was butte on other gentleman usher w^{ch} dydde s'ue hir grace, named Wynter, w^{ch} kepeth in hys house as a sugenfite the ladye taylebush,^t wyff to s' Peter Carewe,^v latelye fledde into Fraunce.

Elizabeth. Among her New Year's Gifts in 1662, are, "by Mr. Doctor Hewycke, two potts, the one of green ginger, the other of orange flowers."—"to Mr. Doctor Hewyk oone guilt haunce pott."—Nichols's *Progr.*, I., 112.

^t Elizabeth, widow of Gilbert, Lord Talboys, and daughter of Sir John Blount. She was married to Sir Peter Carew on the day of the coronation of Edward VI. Her illegitimate son by King Henry VIII. was Henry Fitzroy, created Duke of Richmond. She is also said to have married Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln. Queen Elizabeth's New Year's Gifts, 1662:—"By the Ladye Tayleboyes, Sir Peter Carew's wiffe, in a purse of black silk and silver, in demy sovereignes, £10. 0s. 0d."—"to the Ladye Tayleboyes, oone guilt salt with a cover."

^v Sir Peter Carew, younger son of Sir William Carew, with his uncle Sir Gawen, had conspired against Mary in Devonshire. He escaped to Weymouth, and fled first to France, afterwards to Venice, and lastly to Strasburg,

My reporte to the ladye Elizabeth off the letters from the quene addressed to me, accordyng to the Counsell's comaundm^t gyven unto me by their former lres off the xxvth off June.

My lords off the quenes M^{ties} most honorable Councell, by there letter beryng date from Fernhm the xxvth off June, A^o 1554, dydde aauthorize me to declare unto yo^r grace by mouth, the effecte off a lre sente by hir highnes unto mee at that tyme, for answeere to yo^r gracs late letters sente to hir m^{tie}; that ys In yo^r gracs letter onlye arguments devised for yo^r declaracon in the matters yo^r grace hath been charged wthall, by the voluntarie Confessions off div^{se}, in w^{che} arguments yow wolde seme to pswade hir highnes, that the testimonie off thoose w^{ch} have opened matters ageynst yo^r grace, eyther wer nooe suche as theye be, or, being suche, sholde have nooe credyt. but as hir highnes was moste sorye at the begynnyng to have any occasion off suspicon, So when yt appered unto hyr M^{tie} that the copies off yo^r secret letters were founde In the pacquets off the Frenche Ambassado^r, that dyvers off the most notable trayto^r made there chief accompte upon yo^r grace, hir highnes, therefore, can hardelye be broute to thynke that they wold have psumed so to dooe excepte theye hadde a more certayn knowledge off yo^r grace towards their unnaturall conspiracie then ys yet by yo^r grace confessed. and, therefore, all be yt hir highnes for hir parte, consydering the matters broute to hir M^{ties} knowledge ageynst yo^r grace, useth more clemencie and favoure towards yo^r grace,

from whence he was tempted to go to Antwerp, in order to seek an interview with Lord Paget; but, being arrested, was at last brought back to the Tower of London, in company with Sir John Cheke, and finally made his peace with the Queen by the payment of a heavy fine. He was released Oct. 12, 1555.—(*Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 42.) See "The Lyffe of Sir Peter Carewe," *Archæologia*, XXVIII., p. 96. He died in Ireland, Nov. 27, 1575.

then In the lyke matters hath been accustomed, yet cannot thoose yo^r gracs fayer words so moche abuse yo^r [*her*] highnes, but she doth well understonde howe thyngs have been wroughte, conspiracs be secretlye practised, and thyngs off that nature be mannye tymes iudged by pbable coniectures and other suspicions and argum^{ts}, where the playne trouth maye chaunse to fayle. Even so wise Salamon iudged whoe was the true mother off the chylde by the womens behavo^r and words, when other prove fayled and could not be hadde. Wherefore hir highnes plesure ys, not to be hereafter enye moore molested wth suche yo^r colorable letters, but wyseth for yow that it maye plesse o^r lorde to graunte yow hys grace to be towards godde as yo^u ought to bee, and then shall y^r grace the soner bee towards the quenes m^{tie} as becometh yow.

Doctour owens letter to me.*

Plesyth yt yow that I have understonde by my l. off the quenys highnes most honorabyll counsell, that my ladye Elizabeths grace ys trobled wth y^e swellyng In hir face, & also of her armes & hands. Syr, the occasion off theis affects ys off that hyr gracs bodye ys replenyshed wth mannye colde and waterysh humo^{rs}, w^{ch} wyll not be taken awaye but by pgacons mete & convenient for that p^rpose. But for as moche as thys tyme off the yere, and specialye the distemperaunce off the wether, doth not pmitte to minister purgacons, her grace must take sum pacience untill the tyme off the yere shall bee more meter for medisyns, & the mene space onlye to use suche dyet as ys most metest to ps^{'ve} hir grace from the encrease off suche humo^{rs}, w^{ch} diet I have wreten unto yow In a paper

* The *original* letter is in the Editor's possession. It is endorsed, "To the ryght honorable s^r Harry benigfyld, knygt, att Woodstok."

herin closed. And thus I take my leve from yo^r Mastershipp,
at Gylforde, the xxijth of June, 1554.

Yo^{rs} to comāunde,

GEORGE OWEN.

M^r Parrye, by Umfereye Bed.,^{*} my kinsman, I receyed
a lre dated at Fernh^m the xxiiijth of thys psente, and to
me directed from my lords the quenes M^{ties} most honorabyll
Counsell, w^{ch} he sayth he receyed off the delyverie off M.
Verneye. Suerlye thys I pceyve that the letter hath been
broken upp and loked uppon er yt cam to my hands, wherof
I shall adv^tise my sayde l. at my next wryghtyng unto them
as a Caveat to choose better cariars another tyme.

I am comāunded by my l. off the Councell to declare unto
yow for answeare towching yo^r requeste to have comission for
& in the name off my ladye Elizabeths grace, to take pvision
off victualls and other necessities for hir grace. That that
wyll not be grūnted unto; yet there wyll & plesure ys that,
accordyng to yo^r experte knowledge, yow dooe the same as
yt maye be don, ffor their lordeshippys dooe wryte that the
quenes M^{ties} hir self, as moche as ys possible, doth absteyn
pvydyng by eny suche comission, ffor avoyding the incomo-
ditees wonted to arise unto hir s^{bi}ects by Cullo^{ur} off suche
comission.

Itm, my sayde lords wryte that the quenes highnes ys plesed
that ye, in hir maiestees name, shall gyve order & charge to
all the officers & pvio^{rs} w^{ch} have to dooe wth the making off
all my ladyes gracs winter store, That thei & everye off them
dooe their offices dueties for the severall kynds and pvisions
by them to be made & don.

^{*} Perhaps Humphry Bedingfield, of Quidenham, whose father, John B.,
was first cousin to Sir Henry.

Itm̄, that In hir sayde highnes name & by the auctorite & comāundem^t off the same, yow make yo^r warrunts to be s[']ved wekelye off tooe bucks to be employed in my l. gracs householde duryng there season off this gresse^y tyme to the keepers off hir gracs grounds, off the w^{ch} yow shall receyve the same and to see yt s[']ved accordinglye.

Itm̄, that ye gyve knowledge to oon hyll, dwellyng In london, an olde s[']vnte off my ladye Elizabeths grace, immediatelye to repare hyther to be placed In Cornwalllice steede, ffor whom I have receyved warrunte for that p^rpose, w^{ch} implieth a naye to yo^r late suite made to have verneye placed in that roome.

The namys off my l. that signed thys letter.

STEVEN WINTON, cancell.

EDWARDE DARBYE. PEMBROK. THOMS. ELY, elect.

WYLLM. PAGETTE.

EDWARDE HASTYNGS. THOMS. CHEYNEYE.

JOHN BOURN. ROBT. ROCHESTR.

HENRY JERNEGAN. W. PETRE.

THOMS. WHARTON.

My letters to the Councell.

May yt plese yo^r honorable l. to be advertised that I receyved yo^r letters, dated at Fernh̄m the xxiiij. daye off June laste passed, (w^{che} I dooe fere, as yo^r lordeshippes shall pceyve by the same herein closed, was broken uppe, & looked upon or it cam to my hands; ffor or ever I wolde looke on yt, I called M^r. Tomeio for wytnes, to se how the same cam unto my hands,) contayneng yo^r plesures, to be, that I sholde an-

^y To gresse, to graze, depasco. Gress, deer or game in grass or grease time.
—Halliwell.

swere M^r Parrye to certayn hys suits, made unto yo^r l. on the behalf off my l. Elizabeths grace, accordyng to yo^r direction cōteyned In the same ; w^{ch} I dydde presentlye in articles wth myn owen hande. And further I advised hym that the quenes highnes plesure ys, that he sholde sende for oon hyll, dwell-yng in london, to s^{'ve} In Cornwallyce roome, w^{ch} he dydde. And the same hyll repared to the towne off Wodestock, as uppon sondaye at nyght last was ; but I hadde noo know-ledge off hys beeng In the towne tyll mondaye In the forenoon ; and then hampden, Clarke off the kechyn here, broute me worde thereoff, and I willed the sayde hampden to brynge the same hyll wth hym to an Arber wthoute the gate, where I talked wth hym In the heryng off M^r Tomeio. To whom I sayde In thys fourme : M^r hyll, yow knowe, I am suer, that yow have bene sente for, for the onlye intente to s^{'ve} my l. in the roome off a gentleman huisher : arre ye cū off goode wyll so to dooe or nooe ? he answered, wth all myn harte ; but I never s^{'ved} In that place, and I have oon grette impediment, that letteth me moche In s^{'vice}, w^{ch} ys my heryng, but at thys psent, I thanke godde, I am verye well off it. Well, q^d I, yff yow bee in helth all otherwyse, that maye bee borne wthall well innough. Wherin to he answered, I am verye well at thys tyme ; and so I deputed from hym, ap- poyntyng hym to bee here the nexte mornyng afre ten off the clocke In the forenoone, menyng by seven off the clocke that mornyng to have sente awaye Cornwalllys, and placed hym so as neyther off them sholde have sene or spoken wth other. The same daye at after noone, aboute fyve off the [clock], my l. grace, as hir custome ys, sente for me to gyve myn attendūnce that she myght walke. And In hir walkyng I tolde hir grace that M^r Cornwallice hath obtayned licence off the quenes M^{tie} to be absente for a tyme, and that oon hyll, on off hir gracs olde s^{'vnts}, sholde supplie hys place. Hir grace asked where hyll was. I answered hir grace, In the towne redye. Alas, M^r. Bed. sayde she, the man ys verye honest

and oon suche as I favo^r well, wherof he hath tasted thys last yere paste In a grette sykenesse w^{ch} he hath been cōtinuallye vexed wthall ever syth he was my s^vn̄te, w^{ch} hath caused hym to consume so moche off hys owen s̄bstūnce, besydes all that I have don for hym my self off verye charitee, that to encrease more yll wthall towards hym self he fylt in manner desperate, wherin also I caused payne to be taken wth hym for the avoydyng thereof. The conceyte off the man I fere ys grounded upon that he knoweth hym self to be vexed wth a pitifull disease w^{ch} I will not name; but as he hath sayde hymself that he feleth suche payne in hys hedde and bryst that he cannot holde hys fete when yt taketh hym, and thys wthoute fayneng ys knowen to all that be acqueynted wthin my house. Wherefore I require yow to staye Cornwallyce styll, and adv^tise my lords off thys that I saye, and to require them that suche a oon maye be appoynted as ys able to s^ve, orells that Cornwallice maye remayne styll. And uppon thys hir sayeng, Cornwallyce remayneth, and the other in the toune also tyll yo^r lordeshipp retourn yo^r determinate plesure herin by thys berer. Yt maye plesse yo^r lordeshipp further uppon the recepte off the quenes letter together wth yo^r l., both beeng dated at Fernh̄m the xxvth off June, The quenys highnes letter declaryng unto me hir Ma^{ties} answeare to the late l̄res sente by the ladye Elizabeth unto hir highnes, yo^r l. referryng to me as case sholde req^{re} to reporte the effecte off the quenes highnes sayde l̄res by force & authorite off hir plesure so to be, as by yo^r sayde lordeshippes letters doth appere. At the fyrst, I opened unto hir grace for answeare off hir late suite by my letters made unto my l. Chamb^layne, to have the repaire off certayn phecisions, that yo^r lordeshipp wolde be gladdes to satisfie hir requeste in that parte, butte for as moche as docto^r hewes hath been off late yll at ease and ys not yet thoroughlye recovered, and M^r. Wendye ys psentlye absente from the courte, there cannot nowe bee eny off the quenes highnes

phesicions sente hyther, non off them remayneng there but Mr. Owen, whooe never the lesse hath commended unto yo^r lordeshippes tooe honest lerned men remayneng at Oxforde, the on called docto^r Barnes, thother Walbec, whom he reporteth to be verye Skylfull men; and that yf hir grace thought fytt to have enye off them, the quenes highnes ys plesed that I sholde gyve order that thei or on off them sholde repare hyther for that p^rpose. To the w^{ch} she sayde, well, now I dooe pceyve that my l. Chamberlayns^a offer to me In the tower uppon my lyke request, w^{ch} was In the respecte off myn helth, to have the repare off suche as by me sholde be named, was not to the entente to spede my requeste, but rather to knowe whom I wolde name, wheroff I sholde be suer to fayle; but as for yow to sende for enye off the men named, I am not mynded to make anye straunger pvie to the estate off my bodye, butte co^mitte yt to godde as yete she sayde [I am nothyng answared for docto^r huyck].^a Yesterdaye, I wente to here masse in her gracs chamber; that beeng ended, in the tyme off doeng off my duetie thynkyng to have de^pted from hir grace, she called me and asked whether I hadde harde off any answere that was or sholde be made by the quenes M^{atie} to hyr late letters; uppon whyche occasion fytlye, as I tooke yt, I made hir grace answere that I hadde to declare unto hir an answere on the quenes M^{aties} behalf, when so ever she sholde co^maunde me. lette yt be even nowe, said hir grace. yff yow wyll, I answered. bycause I was ferefull to misreporte, Therefore I have scribed yt as well as I can wth myn owen hande, and yff yow wyll gyve me leve to fetche yt. And beeng redye to gooe into hir grace wth yt, I receyved worde from hir grace by oon off the quenes M^{aties} women, to staye till hir grace hadde dynded, and then she wolde here yt. wthin a mene pause after dyner, she sente for me, and havynge M. Tomiou

^a Sir John Gage.

^a The words in brackets are erased in the MS.

In my companie, who goeng wth me into the utter chamber and there stayeng, I wente in to hir grace, and required hir, yff yt so stooode wth hir plesure, that he myght here the doeng off the massage. Sche graunted yt, and I called hym in, and kneeling bye wth me, I redde unto hir grace my massage accordyng to the effecte off the quenes M^{tie}s letter. after onys heryng off yt, she uttered certayn words bewayling hir owen chünse in that hir gracs letter, contrarye to hir expectaçon, toke no better effecte, and desyred to here yt onys ageyn, w^{ch} I dydde; and then hir grace sayde, I note especiallye, to my grete discomforte (w^{ch} I shall never the lesse wyllinglye obeye) that the quenes M^{tie}s ys not plesed that I sholde moleste hir highnes wth any more off my colorable lřes, whyche, all though thei be termed colorable, yet, not offendyng the quenes M^{tie}s, I must saye for my selfe, that yt was the playn troth, even as I desyre to be saved afore godde all myghtye, and so lette yt passe. Yet M^r Bedyngfeld, yff yow thynke yow maye dooe so moche for me, I wolde have yow to receyve an answer w^{ich} I wolde make unto yow towchyng yo^r massage, w^{ich} I wolde at the leste waye my l. off the Councell myght understonde; and that ye wolde conceyve yt uppon my words, and put yt In wrytyng and lette me here yt ageyn, and yf yt be accordyng to my menyng, so to passe yt to my l. for my better comfote In thys myn adversite. To thys I answered hir grace: I praye yow holde me excused, that I dooe not grünte yo^r request in the same. Then she sayde, yt ys lyke that I shall be offered moore then ever any psoner was in the tower, ffor the psoners be suffered to open their mynde to the lieutenante, and he to declare the same unto the Councell, and yow refuse to dooe the lyke. to thys I answered hir grace, bycause there was a div'site where the lieutenüte dydde here a psoner declare matters towchyng hys case, and shold therof gyve notice unto the Councell, and where the psoners sholde as yt were comāunde the lieutenüte to dooe hys massage to the Councell.

Therefore I desyred that hir grace wolde gyve me leve wth patience not to agree to hir desyer herin, and so deputed from hir grace.^b Yesterdaye mornynge ageyn, abouth x. of the clocke, in the tyme off hir walke, she called me to hir in to the lyttle gardeyn, and sayde, I remember yesterdaye ye refused utterlye to wryte on my behalf unto my l. off the Councell, and therefore yff yow cōtinewe In that mynde styll, I shall be In wurse case then the wurste psoner In Newegate, ffor thei be never gaynesayde in the tyme off there Impsonm^t by oon frende or other to have there cause opened and sued for, and thys ys & shall be suche a conclusion unto me that I muste nedes continew this lyff wthoute all hoope worldelye, hollye restyng to the troth of my cause, and that before godde to be opened, armyng my self ageynst what so ever shall happen, to remayn the quenes true s^biecte as I have don duryng my lyff. yt waxeth wette, and therefore I wyll departe to my lodgyng ageyn; and so she dydde. Thus moche concernyng hir grace I thought yt my duetye to gyve yo^r l. adv^tism^t off, to be consydered as yt shall plesse yo^r hono^r, Clerelye omittynge any parte off the massage and suite w^{ch} my ladyes grace wolde have hadde me to have taken uppon me, and shall so dooe onlesse I have the quenes M^{ties} warrunte or yo^r lordeshippes for the same.

As towchyng the state off the Countree, yt ys In verye goode quiet to the outwarde apparence, and as farre as I can lerne at thande^c off Syr John Broune, Shreff, S^r leonarde Chamberleyne, or Syr Wyllm Raynsforde, whoe hath hys lfe to gyve his attenduñce uppon the quenes M^{tie}. So that In the tyme off moste peryll I shall wante hys comfortable ayde, yf any attempte happen to be made, towards the charge of the quenes M^{tie} here remayneng; and I certaynly lerne

^b If Sir Henry's conduct here appears harsh, it must be remembered that this letter is written to the Council, who are thus made acquainted, in some measure, with Elizabeth's wishes, although she might not be aware of it,

^c The hand.

that hys absence shall as yt weere open a gappe to sū persons not moche to be trusted off Gloucestreshire. yff yo^r lordeshippes dooe not release hym, then I have receyved as moche helpe at hys hande as I can. In a late secrette metyng bettween S^r Leonarde Chamberlayn & me, In talke he remembered and sayde, I harde off a late metyng bettwexte Wyllm Crudge, s^vñte to the late duke off Suff.^d and Verneye, my l. gracs s^vñte, here at the sign off the bull In Wodestocke; and by the masse, sayde he, yt cannot bee for goode, ffor yf there be any practise off yll, wthin all Englande, thys Vernye ys pvie to yt, and the other as mete an Instrumente for such ppose as can bee. Parrye, hir Coferer, lyeth at the same signe off the bull, a m[']velous coularabyll place to practise in, and by my secret espiall I have gyven me to understonde that synys hys cōfynng hyther wth thoose that remayneth wth hym, daylie there hath repared unto hym to the nomber off xl^{ti} psons In hys owen lyverie, besydes the daylie repare off my ladys gracs s^vñts, beeng mannye more then have cause to repare hyther for any pvision. I have delyvered to the berer heroff the bylls off tooe s^vvyng men whyche were cōmaunded to brynge psents hyther uppon yo^r cōmaundm^t to be shewde together, wth other matters by mouth to be declared. And so, as the quenes highnes poore s^vñte and bedeman, I cōmende yo^r lordeshippes to o^r lorde allmyghte. ffrom Wodestocke, the iiijth of July, 1554.

Postscript.

My lords, yt hath cū to my knowledge, by dyv[']se credible and w[']shipfull psons, that the remayneng off Cranmere,

^d Henry Grey, third Marquis of Dorset, K.G., created Duke of Suffolk, Oct. 11, 1551, father of the celebrated Lady Jane Grey. He survived the execution of his daughter, with whom he had taken part, but being found guilty of joining in Wyatt's rebellion, he was beheaded Feb. 23, 1554. See an account of his second insurrection in *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 122.

Rydleye and Latimer at Oxforde in suche sort as theye dooe,
hath don nooe small hurte In theys pts, even amonge thoose
that were knowne to be goode afore.*

The counCELLs Lfes answareng to my former Letters.

After o^r verye hartye comēdacons: we have receyved y^r
Letters of the iijth of this moneth by this bearer, your bro-
ther, whiche we have shewed to the Quenes highnes, whose
M^{tie} takethe the same and yo^r adv^tysem^t therin conteyned,
in verye good and acceptable part, and geoveth you her
hartye thanks for the same, and for aunswere therunto hathe
willed us to signyfye unto you as followeth. Fyrst, as towch-
ing the sycknes that is alledged Hill sholde be vexed wthall,
her highnes pleasure is y^t ye shall diligentlye enquiryer the
truthe of the matter and yf he be in case to serve, he maye
then Remayne theare according to the former order. Marye
yf yt shall appere unto you y^t he hathe anye soche dysease
as is reported, by reason whereof he shalbe to ūfyt to serve,
then maye you cause him to be returned home ageyne, and
gyve order y^t Smythe who was appoynted to supplye y^t
place before, maye, yf he be recovered and meet therefore,
be placed in Cornewallyes stede, or elles Cornewallys to
remayne theare still in case Smythe by reason of sycknes
be not fyt for the p^pose. As towching the L. Elizabethes
request to have you wright her mynde hether, the Quenes

* These illustrious Reformers, whose sufferings are too well known to re-
quire mention here, had been conveyed to Oxford on the 8th of March pre-
vious, where Latimer and Ridley were burnt, Oct. 16, 1555; and Cranmer,
March 21, 1556. Future events have indeed justified Sir Henry's words,
though not in the sense that he intended; and "no small hurt" was done to
his cause when they lighted "such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as
shall never be put out."—Latimer's last words, *Forc*, III., 503.

highnes is pleased y^t ye shall wright those things y^t she shall desier you, and to signyfy the same unto us of her Mat^{ies} Councell, sending yo^r L^{res} towching y^t matter inclosed in som paper directed to her highnes, So as she maye her self have the fyrst sight thereof. As for S^r Willm Reynsforde his continuance theare, her Mat^{ie} having bene moved of y^e matter, is pleased for those consideracons menconed in yo^r letter y^t he shall remayne at home for yo^r better asistunce and the good staye of the Countrey theare abowtes. Her highnes L^{res} latelye addressed unto him for his attendunce here in any wyse notwthstanding. For his better discharge wherin, ye shall receyve herewth o^r L^{res} addressed unto him signyfyng her gracs pleasure in that behalf, w^{ch} we praye yow cause to be sent unto him accordinglye. As for doctor Cranmer, and those other y^t remayne at Oxfforde, we shall shortlye cause soche order to be taken wth them as shalbe convenyent. And thus we byd you hartelye farewell. From Farnehm, ye vijth of July, A^o 1554.

Yo^r assured loving frends,

STE. WYNTON, cancell.

ARUNDELL.

THOMAS ELY, elect.

EDWARDE HASTINGS.

WILLM. PETER.

THOMAS WHARTON.

J. BOURNE.

Postscript. We p^{re}ye you to cause y^e meeting of Verneye & others at y^e signe of the bull to be diligentlye enquired of, and to certifye unto us what ye shall fynde therin. And also to gyve Comaundm^t unto Parrye, in the Quene's highnes name, y^t he use not anye more to have anye soche Resorte of servnts unto him; and to certifye also unto us whether he shall obeye this order or not.

The Quenes Letters unto me.

MARYE Y^e QUENE.BY Y^e QUENE.

Trustye and right welbeloved, we gret you well ; & wheare we understande y^t by occasion of certeyn o^r instruccions Latelye gyvene unto you, Ye doe continuallye make yo^r personall abode wthin that o^r howse of Woodstock, wthowt removing from thence, at anye tyme, w^{ch} thing might p^adventure in continuance be both som daunger to yo^r helth and be occasion also y^t ye shall not be so well able to understand the state of the Countrye theare abowts, as otherwyse ye might, We let you wit y^t, in considera^on thereof, we are pleased ye maye, at anye tyme when yo^r self shall thinke convenyent, make yo^r repayre from owt of o^r sayed howse, leaving one of yo^r brethren to loke to yo^r charge, and se to the good governūce of that howse in yo^r absence. So as nevertheles ye returne backe ageyne yo^r self at night, for the better loking to yo^r sayed Charge. And for yo^r better ease and recrea^on, we are in lyke maner pleased y^t ye and yo^r brethren maye at yo^r libertyes halk^f for yo^r pastyme at the partrige, or hunt the hare, wthin that o^r maner of Woodstock, or anye of o^r grounds adioynyng to the same, ffrom tyme to tyme, when ye shall thynke moste convenient ; and that also ye maye, yf ye shall so thinke good, cause yo^r wyf^s to be sent for, and to remayne theare wth you as long as yo^r self shall thinke meete. Geven under o^r signet, at o^r castle of Fernh^m, ye vijth of Julye, y^e seconde yere of o^r Reigne.

^f Hawk.

^s Catherine, daughter of John Townsend, and heiress of Sir Roger Townsend, of Rainham, Norfolk. She was buried at Oxburgh, Dec. 7, 1581.

My letters to the Councell.

My humble dutye to yo^r good lordeshippes remembered : maye yt plesse the same to be advertysed, y^t this p^sent sondaye, of thopenyng of my brother Edmond, yt is com^m to my knowledge y^t one John Bryd^e, servyng my l. Elizabethes grace here in her wardrobe, uppon saturdaye in the fore none, sholde, in the tyme of her graces walking in the pryve garden, goe into the chamber theare bye, wheare I doe lodge two of my servⁿts for the safe loking to of that passage, over and besyds the locking of one dore at thover heade of the sayed stayer, w^{ch} hath not b^en unlocked but by my self and the Smyth for thamendyng of yt, the kye being allwayes in myne owne keping, wheare the same Brydges, taking occasion of certeyne things lieng in the sayd chamber, sholde speke certeyne w^rds in the hering of this bearer, my Sonn ; Henry Sackford, my servⁿte, being one of them that lyethe theare, was also in the chamber, and harde not the same words spoken, but my Son, as I am enformed. Thone being so nere unto me as a Sonne, thother as a servⁿte, I thynke it my dutye, for thavoyding of all suspicⁱons, not onelye to sende the same partyes Immediately unto yo^r l. to be examyned and further ordered as shall please yo^r l. to com^maunde, But also to referre y^e matter thereof rising to youre honorable Consideracⁱon. Uppon y^e recept of yo^r l. l^{res} of y^e vijth of this p^sent, and by thauthoritie of the same, I dyd declare unto my l. grace that the Quenes Highnes was plesed y^t I sholde wright those things y^t her grace sholde desyer, and to signyfye yo^r lordeshippes of. Synce w^{ch} tyme she hath com^maunded me nothing. Uppon saturdaye, her gracs face in the mornyng was somewhat swolne : the same night, as she sayed her self, she was verye evell at ease ; neverthelesse as towching councell of phisick she speaketh nothing. As furre as I coule learne by anye meane, Hyll was unmeet, as was before alledged.

Smythe continueth in his ague, and not able to serve, so according to yo^r pleasures Cornwallys remayneth, full unfyt to all p^rposes yf theare were anye other choyse. I sente my brother Anthonye wth yo^r l. message unto Pary for resorte, layeng as good espiall for the same as I can. Verneye hathē absēnt from the signe of the bull theis ix dayes, as by enquirye I learne. He is gone to an offyce he hathē of my l. gracs gyfte, wheare he is in variance for ceyteyne haye growing in a medowe by him latelye mowne, and by an other caryed awaye. The Quenes Ma^{ties} moneye, by two severall warrants of her highnes by me receyved, is imployed aboute her highnes servyce here, lacking only lxxij^{li}; at this present being one other paye daye which extendeth to xxv^{li} xv^s, the rest sufficeth not for two payes more. The p^ticular declarāⁿ hereof I shall send unto yo^r l. by y^e next messenger, and herin verye necessitye shall Compell me, being in this straunge cuntrye from myne acquayntūnce, and a very pore man yf I were at home, humbly to beseeche yo^r l. to be meanes y^t moneye maye be had aforehand for the mayntenūce of the Quenes servyce during the tyme yt shallbe her pleasure to use the same. I doe understande y^t S^r Leonarde Chamberlayne sholde imediatlye take his Jeourney towards his offyce in J. and Gurneseye, were yt not y^t he taryethe to see his wyf^h brought in bedd, w^{ch} hathē loked her self every houre this sevenight; whose p^sence in this place, by all mens opinions and by myne affecⁿ also, yf anye ivell spirytt sholde blowe up a storme to the perell of the charge wherunto the Quenes Highnes hathē comāunded me to serve, were most nedefull to be had here, yet not knowing howe necessarye a ser^vnt he is

^a The burial of this lady is mentioned in Machyn's *Diary*, p. 135. 1557. "The v day of May afor non was bered my lade Chamburlayne, the wyff of ser Lenard Chamburlayne, of Oxfordshyre. . . . with prestes and clarkes, a grett compane of mornars: and ther dyd pryche att the masse docthur Chadsey, and he mad a godly sermon: and after, a grett dener: and master Longkaster was the harold: and ther was a grett dolle of money at the churchē."



in thother place, I dare not enterpryse to be anye suter for his staye at home. I have delivered to this bearer thexāiacon of Andrew Ross towching prophesieng, of whose words Byrcheall late sent unto yo^r l. dyd report his tale as by the deposiçon of Block & Robyns, taken by my l. Mordunt,¹ dothe appere unto yo^r l. The same Andrewe I have caused to b dñ unto the charge of M^r Parye, to be forthe comyng at yo^r pleasures, In the presence of the maior of Woodstock. This Countreie at thys psente is in quyet estate, as far as I knowe. So beseeching o^r Lord Almightye to sende a prosperous meting of o^r most dread sov'aigne Ladye and y^e most noble Prynce, and to continue yo^r l. in their seryvce long, to his pleasure & yo^r hono^r, I leave to trouble the same at this tyme. ffrom Woodstocke, the xvjth of July, 1554.

The Councelles L^res to me.

After o^r right hartye comēdacons, we have receyved yo^r L^res and signyfyed the contents of them to the Quenes highnes, whoe takethe yo^r diligence in verye good parte, and for aunswere hath willed us to signyfy unto you, y^t fyndyng Brydgs of soche mysbehavo^r in wordes as ye wright of, ye shall in anye wyse order him according to his deserts, comitting him to warde till we maye at leysure in thend of Somer consider the nature of his offence. As towching moneye, order shalbe taken for yo^r want to yo^r contentaçon. S^r Leonarde Chamberleyne maye tarye theare w^t you for a whyle longer, and so you maye saye unto him. Thexāiacon of Andrewe we have sene, and esteme the sayeings mere vanitye, wherefore we think he remayneth worthelye in

¹ John, first Lord Mordaunt, summoned to Parliament from May 4, 1532, to Nov. 5, 1558. He died August 28, 1562, and was buried at Turvey, Bedfordshire.

pryson whyther ye have comitted. And thus we byd you hartelye farewell, at Walthm̄, y^e xixth of Julye, 1554.

Yo^r loving frends,

STE. WINTON, cancell.

THOMAS ELY, elect. JOHN GAGE.

My letters to the Councell.

Maye it plesse yo^r good L., uppon y^e recept of yo^r L^res of y^e xixth of this psent, I understand yo^r pleasures that Brydgs, for his mysbehavo^r in words, sholde be comitted to warde till yo^r L. might consider the nature of his offence at leysure in thende of thys Somer. And bycause he is onelye apoynted to serve my l. Elizabethes grace in her wardrobe, bothe of the Robes and beddes, and yo^r l. dyd not determyne anye other pson to serve in that place, Therefore I have not hetherto made him pryve to anye his offence, or cōmitted him to anye other ward then w^t self loking to w^hin the howse as he was before; wheare I dare, by godds grace, aunswere for his forthecom̄ing, unles yt ylease yo^r L. otherwyse to determyne, notwthstanding the Consideraçon afore rehersed. I have deliv[']ed unto my brother Anthonye, the bearer hereof, a breief and book, declaring howe the S^m of ccciiij^{xx} ^{li} and odde moneye is hollye employed and bestowed, whiche I receyved by vertue of twoe sev[']all warrants of the Quenes Ma^{ties}, beseching you to receyve him a sutor for more moneye, yf yt shall please you to have the servyce continue according to yo^r l. pmyse mençoned in yo^r letters abovesayed. Theare hathe Com to my knowledge synce my last wrighting unto yo^r l., ij sev[']all matters tending to notable sediçon; The holle circumstances whereof appering by divers l^res my sayd brother hathe to deliver unto yo^r l. In w^{ch}

cases, or the lyke hereafter to insue, I shall beseche you to put order for the ponyshem^t of the offenders.^k S^r Willm̄ Reynsford hathe taken great payne in Ryding to Coventry for the taking of one of the offenders. Thus, w^t remēber-ūnce of my humble dutye being at this tyme in good quyet as farre as I can understand other than is abovesayed, I shall beseche o^r Lorde god almightye to sende y^e King, o^r m^r, and the Quene, o^r most dere sov'aigne Ladye, longe & prosperous Reigne, w^t honorable frute and offspring of mariage, to the Comfort of all goode inglyshe subiects, I leave to trouble yo^r l. at this tyme. ffrom Woodstock, y^e xxxth of July, A^o 1554.

Postscript. My ladye Elizabethes grace, after masse was done this psent daye, willed and requyred me to conceyve a sute of hers to be made unto yo^r L., to be meanes for her unto the Quenes highnes; which I have doñ, and herin inclosed yt and sealed and dyrected unto the Quenes M^{tie}, according to yo^r Coṃaundm^t expsed In yo^r lres, dated at ffarnh̄m, y^e vijth of Julye, A^o 1554, wherunto I requyred her to put her signe in proffe y^t yt was agreable to her mynde. Since Coṃaundem^t gyvene to him on yo^r L. behalf, for anye repayer unto him, other then necessitye requyreth, by the espiall y^t I can make, I perceyve nothing but well. Verneye is Coṃen to him ageyne and hathe beñ theare this sevenight. Yf it shalbe determyned by the Quenes highnes and you, my L., y^t this great Ladye shall remayn in this howse, then of necessitye theare must be repaṃcons done bothe to the covering of the howse in leade & slatt and especiallye in glass and Casemonds, orelles neyther she nor anye y^t attendethe uppon her shalbe able to abyde for Coulde, and the Coffero^r makethe me beleve y^t he can make no provision for wood here for anye money wthowt yo^r L. helpe.

^k These were the players at Coventry, mentioned in his next letter.

My ladye Elizabethes graces sute.

My ladye Elizabeth, this p̄sent xxxth of Julye, requyred me to make reporte of her graces mynde as her suyt to yo^r hono^r, to be meanes to the Quene's Ma^{tie} on her behalf to this effect. To beseche yo^r l. all to Consider her wofull case, y^t being but onys lycensed to wright as an humble Sutres unto the Quenes highnes, and receyved thereby noe soche Comforte as she hoped to have dōn, but to her further dys-comforte in a message by me opened, y^t it was the Quenes Highnes pleasure [not] to be anye more molested wth her gracs letters, y^t yt maye please the same and that uppon verye pitye, considering her longe imprisonm^t and restraynt of libertye, eyther to charge her wth speciall matter to be aunswered unto and tryed, or to graunt her libertye to co^m unto her highnes p̄sence, whiche she sayethe she wolde not desyer were yt not y^t she knowethe her self to be clere evene before god, for her alegiance. And yf also by yo^r good media^{cons} she might not enioye y^e Quenes highnes most gracious ffavo^r, wthout anye scruples or suspicōns of her trothe, she had rather willingly suffer thys that she dothe and moche more then her Ma^{tye} sholde in anye cace be troubled or dysquyeted towching her, whose hono^r suerly and p̄servacōn, she sayethe, she dothe desyre above all things in this worlde. Requyring me further to move Chefelye as manye of you, my lords, as were a counsell p̄tyes and p̄vye to and for thexecu^{con} of the will of the Kings Ma^{tye},¹ her father, to further this her graces suyt abovesayed. And yf neyther of theis two her suyts maye be obteyned by yo^r l. for her, that then yt might please y^e Quenes highnes to graunt y^t So^m of you, my l., maye have leave to repayer hether unto her

¹ King Henry VIII. had willed the crown to Elizabeth after the death of Edward VI. and Mary, without issue; and some of his executors were still of the Privy Council. See the will in Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, I., 37.

and to receyve her suyts of her owne mowthe to be opened.
Wherby she maye take a relese not to think her self utterlye
desolate of all reffuge in this worlde.

The Councells letters.

After our hartye comendacons. The quenes highnesse
hath sene yo^r letters, with suche other matter as ye sente
unto hir M^{tie} by the same, w^{ch} hir highnes wyll take a tyme
to consider, and at convenient leysure make suche answeere
thereunto as shall be necessarie. And as to touching your
requeste to be remembered wth moneye, hir M^{tie} wyll cause
order to be taken wthin these viij or ten dayes for yo^r satis-
faccon In that behalf as appertayneth. As to the Copie off
the letter that ye sente hyther, hir highnes wyll In lyke
manner take a tyme to consider the same, and thereuppon
gyve suche ordre for the quietnes off yo^r s[']vice, as ye shall
have cause to reste satisfied, and so wee bydde yow ryght
hartlye well to fare. From Wyndesore the vijth off August,
1554.

Yo^r lovyng ffrendes,

STE. WINTON, cancell. THOM^s. ELY, elect.
Jo. BOURNE.

My letters to the Councell.

Myn humble duetye to yo^r honorable lordeshippes remem-
bred, These shall be to beseche the same that the berer heroff
(my brother Edmonde) maye rece moneye accordyng to yo^r
late determinacon by yo^r letters off the vijth off thys psente,
for the dispatches or cotinuunce off the quenes M^{ties} soudiers

here, as yt shall stonde wth the plesure off hir highnesse and yow, my l. Uppon ffrydaye laste my l. Elizabeths grace, in the tyme off hir walke in the over garden here in the fore-noone off the same daye, sayde unto me, I have verye slooce spede In the answare off anye my suits, and I knowe yt ys ever so, when that there ys not oon appoynted to gyve daylie attendūnce in sute makyng for answare; and therefore, sayth she, I praye yow lette me sende a s'vnte off myn owne, to whom I wyll doo the message in yo^r heryng that he shall dooe by my cōmaundm^t, and thys I thynke (sayde shee) ys notte ageynst the order and s'vice appoynted unto yow. To w^{ch} I answered, requiryng hir grace to be contented, ffor I neyther colde nor wolde assente unto any suche hir requeste. Then, sayde she, I am at a marvelous afterdele,^m ffor I have knowen that the wyff hath been receyved to sue for hir husbonde; the kynseman, frende or s'vnte for them that hath been In the case I nowe am, and never denyed. To that I answered, I my self am off small experience In suche case. That not wthstondyng I trust yt shall notte be long or my l. off the Councell wyll remember yo^r suite and answare the same. And so hir grace ended. Thys Countrie remayneth at this daye In verye goode quiet, as farre as I can here, Savyng sū verye simple psons hath uttered certayn words sediciouslye, w^{ch} hath been bye & bye opened unto the Justices off the peace, whoe be verye diligente in the serching oute and punyshyng off the same. At my laste sendyng to yo^r lordshipps by my brother Anthonie, I advertised yow off certayn players, and off oon heywoode,ⁿ w^{ch} wrote a sedicious letter at Coventrie, and there remayneth In prison.

^m *Afterdeal*, disadvantage.—*Halliwel*.

ⁿ Coventry had long been celebrated for the plays or "mysteries" performed there. The Heywood mentioned above and previously, as accused of sedition, could hardly have been the well-known "Epigrammatist," as he was in great favour at the court of Queen Mary; and his sons, Ellis and Jasper, were graduates of Oxford, and became zealous Jesuits.

Yff yt myght plesse yo^r lordshipp to determyn yo^r order to the comissioners and other officers towching the same, yt sholde be moche comforte to them In their s[']vice, and terro^r to the lyke offendo^r. I dooe here saye that there ys grette waste made uppon thys grette ladies possessions: the reporte thereof ys notte so credible, that I dare saye yt ys so; butte I thought yt my duetye to gyve you advertisem^t, that yt maye be inquired off. Thus cōmendyng yo^r l. to o^r lorde allmyghtie, I take my leve off the same, from the quenes M^aties house off Woodestock, the xvjth daye of August, A^o. 1554.

My letters to my l. off Elye. °

After my hartye Commendacons to yo^r goode l. So yt ys that as yow dooe knowe I have contynewed thys s[']vice by the space off xv weeks, in care off mynde and some travell off bodye, w^{ch} I wolde be gladde to make suite to be relyved off, yff I might knowe yt sholde be taken in goode parte. And havynge nooe ffrende w^{ch} I beleve my self to be so answered off as off yo^r lordeshipp; Even thereuppon I am bolde by theese hartylie to desyer yo^r travell in my behalf (yff yt so stonde wth yo^r goode opinion) to the quenes M^atie, to graunte me my discharge from the same; wherein I trust my l. Chauncelo^r p^r wyll ioyn wth yow, yff yt contente yow to move hym thereunto, whooe, by words of mervelous effecte, comp[']sing both the quenes cōmaundm^t that I sholde enter in to yt, and hys ernest requeste at that tyme also dydde cause me to take in hande the same. And leste my sayde l. sholde forgette, I praye yow putte hym In remembrance that he hadde thys talke wth me uppon the Causeye,^a

° Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.

p Bishop Gardiner.

^a Causeway, (*via calcata*.)

betwexte the house off sayncte Jamys and Charyng Crosse ; and what yt shall contente yow to dooe for me herin, I shall desyer yow to be assertayned by yo^r l^{res} uppon the retourn off the messenger. I made late a suite unto yow for yo^r house at the blacke friers, and receyved answe^re that yow hadde otherwyse disposed the same ; yet, rememberyng that yow hadde an house off my l. off Bath in holbourn, w^{ch} as the case now stondeth I thynke yo^r l. wyll have lyttle plesure to use, and yff by yo^r goode mene I myght obtayne the same at my l. off Bathes^r hands, yow sholde dooe unto me a grette goode tourne, w^{ch} have nooe house off refuge in london, butte the Comon Inne, and wolde be gladde to gyve large moneye to be avoyded off that incōvenience. And thus, remayneng at the quenes M^{ties} house off Woodestocke (oute off the whych I was never by the space of vj howers syth my comyng into the same) I leave to trubble yo^r lordeshipp wth thys my rude wrytyng, at the house aforesayde, the xvjth daye off August, 1554.

The Councells letters.

After o^r ryght hartye comēdacons, the quenes highnes ys plesed that the l. Anne Graye shall nowe at the retourn off M^{res} Tomewe repaire hom to hir mansion house for a tyme, w^{ch} hir highnes hath wylled us to signifie unto yow, to thende ye myght knowe her plesure herin. And thus we bydde yow ryght hartylie to farewell. ffrom Westminster, the xxth off Auguste, 1554.

JOHN GAGE.

HENRYE JERNEGAN.

* John Bourchier, second Earl of Bath ; one of Queen Mary's earliest adherents. He died in 1560.

After my humble duetye to yo^r lordeshippes remembered, theys shall be to advertise yow that, the xxvjth daye of August last paste, my l. Elizabeths grace after hir confession, as hir chappleyne^{*} declared to me, in Catholyke fourme dydde receyve the most comfortable sacramente. And afore hir grace wente to the receyte thereof, she called M. Tomeo, the quenes Ma^{ties} woman and me, and wee, knelyng afore hir grace, not knoweng what hir grace mente by the same, she opened hir mynde by theys words, ptestyng, That hir grace, In all hyr lyffe, hadde don nooe thyng, nor intended to dooe, that was perilous to the pson off the quenes highnes or the Comonwelth off thys Realme, as godde, to hoos m'cie she then mynded to comitte hyr selfe, was iudge; and that don, receyved. At dyverse tymes synyse, hyr grace hath comāounded me to wryte unto yow, my l., wyche neverthesse was fyrst ordered, as yo^r plesure was, hyr grace hath called uppon me for answer, leyeng to my charge, that bycause I am so scrupulous that I wyll notte assente that hyr grace maye wryte hyr self unto yow, my l., and sende the same by a s'vnte off hir owen that ys not daylye comāounded to wayte uppon hir grace; w^{ch} s'vnte, hir grac^e devise ys, sholde receyve hyr letter and message of my reporte, & delyver yt onlye, wthoute spekyng wth hyr grace; that that was the onlye cause whye she hadde nooe manner off answer to hir suite; and hir grace sayth she ys suer yo^r l. wyll smyle in yo^r sleeves when ye knowe thys my Scrupelulnesse. Wherunto I made answer, that I hadde rather adventure to bere yo^r displeasures for that, then for psumpcon: and so ended. Wherefore I besече yo^r l. to retourn yo^r plesures how I shall demene my self In answareng thys matter, upon the comyng

* His christian name was William, as he is addressed as "Sir William" further on. The names of Elizabeth's chaplains at about this period were, Bingham, John Rauffe, and Alene.—*Cecil Papers*, p. 70. "One Master Yong" served her in that office while she was imprisoned in the Tower.—*Foote*, III., 945.

hom of thys massenger. I made suite unto yo^r l., in my latter letter, for the glasyng and slatyng off the lodgyngs w^{ch} off necessite be to be occupied ffor the tyme off thys grette ladyes aboode here, wherin also I praye yo^r l. gyve knowlege. The king and quenes M^{ties} moneye of an clⁱⁱ, receyved by force off there warrūnte by thys berer my brother Edmonde, ys fullye payde to the soldiours s'vyng here, and thei remayne unpayde for ten dayes at the wrytyng hereoff. Even so, levyng to truble yo^r lordshipps, I comēde the same to o^r lorde god hys moste blessed tui^{con}, at the quenes M^{ties} house off Wodestock, the xiiijth off September, 1554.

The Councells l^{res}.

M^r Bedyngfeld, after o^r ryght hartye comēda^{cons}: The quenes M^{tie}, havynge seen yo^r l^{res} off the xiiijth of this moneth addressed unto us, taketh yo^r advertisem^t in verye goode parte, and ys verye gladde that the lady Elizabeths grace doth so well conforme hir self in the receyvyng off the most blessed sacramente off the alter. And towchyng hyr requeste to wryte unto us by some extraordinarie s'v^{nte} off hyr owen, the quenes M^{tie} ys plesed that, yo^r self receyvyng the l^{res} and iaclosyng the same wthin your owen, maye so addresse the sayde s'v^{nte} wth them unto us, and yow shall receyve hir M^{ties} plesure for answare. Towchyng the tylyng & glasyng off that house, hir M^{tie} ys plesed the same shall bee furwth repared in plac^s necessarie; for the doeng wherof, yf wee maye knowe what the charge wyll bee, wee wyll pcure moneye to be sente for doeng the same. And thus wee

bydde yow most hartylve fare well, ffrom hampton Courte
thys xvth off September, 1554.

Yo^r assured ffrends,

STE. WINTON, cancell.

BEDFORD.[†]

THOMS. ELY.

JOHN GAGE.

WILLM. PETRE.

JO. BOURNE.

My lres to the Councell.

Appon the retourn off my brother Edmonde wth yo^r honorable lres, dated at hampton Courte the xvth off thys psent moneth, I dydde take knowledge that yo^r lordeshippes hadde obtayned of the quenes M^{tie} that my l. Elizabeths grace myght wryte unto yo^r lordeshippes, delyveryng the same unto me to be addressed unto yo^r hono^r, inclosed in my letter, by on off hyr gracs extraordinarie s^vnts; wheruppon, the mondaye beeng the xvijth daye, In the fore noone of the same, I declared that yo^r l. hadde g^runted hir gracs late desyre in fourme abovesayde, w^{ch} was gladde tydyngs, as I tooke yt; yet hir grace at that tyme dydde neyther co^maunde me to ppare thyngs for hir grace to wryte wth, or named whoe sholde bee hir massenger: and so I de^pted. Hir grace never spake worde off that matter moore tyll the sondaye foloweng, in the tyme off hir gracs walke at the after noone; at w^{ch} tyme hir grace comaunded to ppare hyr penne & ynke and paper ageynst the nexte daye; w^{ch} I dydde. Uppon mondaye, In the morneng, hyr grace sente M^{res} Morton, the quenes highnes woman, for the same; to whom I delyvered

[†] John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, K.G., Lord Privy Seal. He was the Ambassador appointed to conduct Philip into England. His portrait is engraved in *Lodge*, Vol. II. He died Mach 16, 1655.

a Standysh, ^v wth fyve penns, ij shets off fyne pap, and oon course shete, inclosing the same wth thys request unto the sayde M^r Morton, that she sholde make suite to my ladyes grace on my behalf, that yt wolde plesse hir grace not to use the same, butte in the sight off mastresse Tomio or hir. And the same mastresse Morton dydde thys, and broute me worde that hir grace hadde consented to my sayde suite; and that I sholde also sende worde unto ffraunces Verneye, hir gracs ordinari s^vnte, lyeng in the tounne off Wodestocke wth hir Coferer, to be massenger; where I pceyve thei use as moche pvie conference to hyr grace and from hir as thei lyst, Even as I adv^tised yo^r l. longe agooe: the house also beeng a Comon Inne, wherin thei dooe lye, and thei so politicque as thei bee, I can gette no knowledge off there doengs by eny espiall: thys only I am suer of, thei mete notte together In pson. At the after noone, in hir gracs goyng to walke, I harde hir saye she hadde suche payne In hir hedde that she colde wryte nooe moore that daye. Tewsdaye, in the morn- yng, as I lerned off mastresse Morton, she washed hir hedde. At after noone of the same daye, after three off the clocke, hir grace sente for me by mastresse Tomio, and at myn awayt- yng uppon hir she there comaunded me to wryte the lfe hir grace had wreten, sayeng she never wrote to yo^r l. but by a Secreterie; and I am not suffered at thys tyme to have non, and therfore yow must nedes dooe yt. I prayed hir grace to pdon me, ffor that I was notte able; yet, at hir gracs impor- tune comaundment & desyer, I wrote as she redde unto me off hyr hande wrytyng, w^{ich} she retayneth as a minute. And after yt was dated hir grace dydde wryte wth hir owen hande; butte what, godde knoweth: that don, hir grace comaunded me to make yt upp. And hir grace wolde have sealed yt; butte, beeng verye colde, she required M^r Morton to dooe yt, and comaunded me to wryte the direction, and so dely- vered yt unto me, to be sente unto Verneye to conveye to my

^v An inkstand.

l. Tresorer^w and my l. Chamberlayn^x on the quenes Maties syde; w^{ch} I lefte undon.^y Godde knoweth how yt greveth me that I am thus unable to s^{'ve} the quenes Matie & yow, my lords, by reson of thys myn evyll wrytyng, trustyng hir highnesse wyll pdon my rudenesse, and yow, my l., also. I tooke ageyn off my l. Elizabeths grace the remayn of the paper, the Standysh and penns, wantyng one; and so deputed from hir grace. I sente my brother Edē, the daye after hys retourne from yo^r l., to s^r Wyllm Raynsfords, to declare unto hym the message ye dēd to be don by mouth: beeng from home, at my l. Wyllms, it was the latter ende off that weeke or he hadde knowledge off yo^r plesure; wheruppon he hath answered by hys letter that he wyll dooe the best he can to accomplysh yo^r cōmaundem^t; butte as he wrote he knewe not then where the same men were becū. The reste of the quenes Maties s^{'vice} here remayneth in quiet estate at the wrytyng heroff, as farre as I dooe here. Th^s, prayeng yo^r l.

^w The Marquis of Winchester.

^x Sir John Gage.

^y Verneye was despatched, however, six days afterwards, as appears by Sir Henry's next letter to the Council. Foxe notices this matter at some length, for the discredit of Bedingfield. Elizabeth having upbraided him, Sir Henry "kneeling down, desired her Grace to thinke and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the Queene to serve her Maiestie, protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her Grace, as now he did the Queenes Highnesse. For the which his answer her Grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have neede of such servants as hee was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henry replied and sayd, that there was no remedie but his doings must bee answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her letters to bee carried foure or five daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for her Gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether hee durst enterprise the carriage of her Graces letters to the Queene, or no: and he answered, yea, sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon sir Henrie, halfe against his stomacke, tooke them unto him."—*Foxe*, III., 948.

all to accepte the rememberūce off my bounden duetye, I comitte the same to o^r lorde allmyghtie hys most blessed tui^{co}n, ffrom the quene's Manno^r of Wodestock, the xxth off September, A^o 1554.

My letters to the quenes highnesse.

Maye yt plesse yo^r highnes to be advertised that this grette ladye, upon hose pson ye have comāunded myn attendūce, ys and hath been in quiet state for the helth off hir bodye thys moneth or vj weeks; and off hir mynde declareth nothyng outwardlye, by worde or dede, that I can cū to the knowledge off, butte all tendyng to the hoope, she sayth, she hath off yo^r clemencie and marcie towards hyr. Marrye, ageynst my lords off yo^r most honorabyll counsell I have harde hir speke words that declare that she hath conceyved grette unkyndnesse in them, yf hir menyng gooe wth hir words, wheroff godde onlye ys Judge. Hyr Chappleyn in my l. Chamberlayns tyme dydde saye the suffrags in Englysh, wyche, and all other thyngs don in hys tyme, have been obs'ved as my president and grette helpe in this yo^r M^{aties} s'vice, wherin I was utterlye unexperte; and in theis suffrags all ys sayde, savyng the words towchyng the byshopp off Roome.* And my l. Elizabeths grace dydde use to saye the same wth hir Chappleyn; so that all that dydde wayte dydde here speke the words playnlye after the preste. Synyst yo^r moste noble marriage, by & by, after w^{ch}, the same hir Chappleyn, accordyng to hys moste bounden duetye, dydde

* The words alluded to are those occurring in the Litany of the Prayer-books of 1549 and 1552, and which were left out in the edition of 1559. "From all sedition and privy-conspiracy, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment."

praye for the kyng and yo^r M^{tie} together, hir grace hath never answered worde to that article, that colde be harde or pceyved by any mene, beeng marked off verye p^rpose by yo^r highnesse woman, M^{rs} Morton, & me. My bounden s^rvice to yo^r M^{tie} ys iuste cause to signifie thys scruple to be wayed by yo^r moste noble considera^on. So, besechyng o^r lorde allmyghtye to graunte suche a ioye to cū to all true Englysh men, by the p^rgenie off your excellent p^rson, that wee maye, as holye Simeon dydde for the byrth off Chryste, prayse godde for the same, I humblye take my leve off yo^r highnes, ffrom yo^r house off Wodestocke, the iiijth off October in the seconde & fyrst off the kyng & yo^r most p^rsperous reign.

The quenes letters.

MARYE THE QUENE.

Trustie and ryght well beloved, wee grete yow well, and let yow wit wee have receyved yo^r l^res of the iiijth off thys moneth, wherbye, as well as by yo^r severall l^res addressed unto o^r p^rvie Councell, wee p^rceyve the continūce of yo^r diligence in the charge co^mmitted unto yow; for the whyche looke, as wee do gyve o^r hartye thanks, so dooe wee require yow to use the semblable henceforth accordyng to the truste reposed unto yow, wherin ye shall dooe us acceptable s^rvice. And where as hitherto the ladye Elizabeth hath been suffered (as ye knowe) to use the suffrags and letanie In Englysh, for as moche as we thynke yt verye convenient that lyke as she hath (as wee p^rceyve by yo^r l^res) shewed hir self conformable enough In all other thyngs, which wee be gladd to understonde, so she sholde in thys matter be induced to stonde contente wth the s^rvice used in o^r own Chappell and throughoute o^r Realme, and nooe moore to use the sayde suffrags and letanie In Englysh, butte In latyn, accordyng to the auncient

and laudable Custome of the churche; wee have thought mete to require yow to move yt on o^r behalf unto hir, & to travell wth hir therin the beste ye can, advertising what she shall answeere thereunto, that wee maye thereuppon take suche furder ordre as shall be convenient. And where wee dooe pceyve by yo^r letters unto o^r p^rvie Counsell that ye require there maye be sū reparacons made uppon that house, bycause wee understonde that the coste thereof wyll not be grette, and consideryng that the tyme off the yere for that ppose draweth faste awaye, we let yow wyt, our plesure ys, ye dooe cause the sayde reparacons to be gon in hande wthall by suche wurkemen as ye can gette thereabouts, whose charge, wth the reste of the coste that the sayde wurke shall amounte unto, wee shall, uppon certificate thereof from yow, gyve ordre to be payde accordynglye. Geven under o^r signet, at o^r Pallayce off Westminstre, the vj off Octob. the fyrst & seconde yere of o^r Reign.

My letters to the Councell.

Pleseth yt yo^r honorable l. to be advertised, that the laste daye of September now paste, the kyngs & quenes M^{ties} Soldiers s^vying here have been unpayde for oon hoole moneth, and thei owe over to the poore folke off Woodestock for there boorde and vitalyng for the moste parte for lyke tyme; whiche, beeng verye poore p^rsons, have gyven warnyng to Sodiours, that wthoute redye moneye theye neyther can or wyll pvyde to vitayle them eny lenger. Wherapon I have been dryven to entrete wth them by the beste menes I can, tyll moneye maye be obtayned: thys verye necessite enforseth my suite unto yo^r hono^r, that yt may plesse the same to gyve order for moneye. Fraunces Verneye was dispatched from hense wth my ladye Elizabeths gracs l^fes,

inclosed as yo^r lordeshippes comāunded, the weddensdaye in the mornynge beyng the xxvjth daye of September laste; to whom I delyvered the estimate for the reparacons I sente to yow for in my former lres, trustyng yo^r lordshippes wyll take a waye for that also. My ladyes graces Chappleyn s'vyng here dydde off hym self declare unto me, that there was cū to hys knowledge, that my l. off london^a hadde sette furth a booke in prynte, contayneng the spirituall ordre off hys dioces, in w^{ich} oon Article ys, that all devyne s'vice sholde be sonnge or sayde in the latyn tonge. Wherefore, sayth he, beeng wylling to obeye, I praye yow lette me knowe yo^r Opinion whyther I shall leve to saye the suffrags in Inglysh, whych I have accustomed to saye afore my ladyes grace twyse a weeke, and have don synys the comyng off hir to the tower fyrst. I answered, yow shall knowe shortlye. Whyche, comēg from yo^r lordeshippes, shall bee don as ye comāunde. There be certayn off hir graces s'vnts, that beeng mannys tymes in a generaltie moved to cū to divine s'vice, dooe yt not at eny tyme.^b I praye godde, all the reste dooe not obs've for fourme onely, excepte the Chappleyn. Yff yt cōtented yow, wth the kyng & quenes Maties license, to graunte that thei myght be visited wth sū lerned men, both to preche & talke wth them in the matter off there religion, I wolde trust in godde thei sholde becū eyther better pswaded in that poynte, or at the leste waye moore open to the worlde what thei bee. I trust yo^r l. dooe cōsider that the nyghts that shall be from hensefurth arre longe and colde, and manye off them weete, wherebye the poore Soldiers shall notte bee able to cōtinewe their watche aboute thys house Standyng uppon the hyll, Sooe colde as yt doth, wthoute theye

^a Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, who had resumed his see, August 5, 1553.

^b Strype relates that Mrs. Sands refused to attend mass when Elizabeth was in the Tower, and Mrs. Coldeburn was appointed in her stead. — *Strickland*, VI., 98. See *Foote*, III., 932, and the account of Horneby hereafter.

may be suffered to kepe the same wthin the gate; butte how that wyll stonde well to all other p^opose, I knowe not. And trustyng that godde, the kyng & quenes M^{tie}, wth yo^r honorable advyse, shall better dispose for us, then wee can for o^r selfs, I cōmende the same to hys most blessed tui^{co}n, and soo take my leve off yow. ffrom the kyngs and quenes house of Woodestocke, the iiijth off October, the fyrst & seconde yere off there most prosperous reyn.

The quenes lres.

MARYE THE QUENE.

Trustie and well beloved, wee grete yow well, lettyng yow wyt that the letters off the ladye Elizabeth off the xxvth off September laste passed, wrytten wth yo^r hande and addressed by hir s^vnte Verneye to our Counsell, were for that the same were faste sowed wthout any endorsem^t on the outsyde, fyrst broute to o^r hands, which wee have considered and dooe fynde somewhat Straunge, for where she thynketh that hir answerz to the matters obiected, and former lres, have been kepte from o^r knowledge, wee marvell uppon what grounde she hath conveyde so yll an opinion off o^r Counsell, off whom nooe oon hath (to o^r knowledge) gyven hir anye suche cause. If hir former answers myght so well have satisfied indifferent eares as it semeth to satisfie hir owne opinion, she myght have been well assured to have fullye enioyed our favo^r before a grette manye off others which uppon their s^bmission have tasted thereof. Yow maye therefore declare unto hir theys o^r letters, signifieng that wee be notte unmyndefull off hir cause, and as goode occasion shall pcede from hir selfe in dedes, So wyll wee have suche farther considera^{co}n of hir as maye stonde wth hir hono^r and the goode order off o^r Realme. Yeoven

under o^r Signet at o^r palice off Westemistre, the vijth daye off Octob^r, the first and seconde yeres off o^r Reigne.

My letters to the quenes highnesse.

Accordyng to yo^r highnes moste gracious comāundment, contayned In yo^r letters off the vjth off thys psente, to move my l. Elizabeth nooe moore to use the suffragis and letanie In Englysh but latyn, after the auncient & laudable Custome off the Church, and to advertyse yo^r m^{tie} off hir answere in the same, on yo^r highnes behalf, I moved yt to hyr the xiiijth off thys psente moneth, whoose answere I receyved wth these words in effecte. M^r Bedyngfelde, knowyng thys to be the quenes M^{ties} plesure by yow reported, I shall wthall my harte obeye to the same from hense furth, ande I wyll tell yow, sayde she, uppon what occasion yt was fyrst sayde afore me. After my comyng to the Tower in thys my trouble, my ladye Graye^c beeng there wth me, wthin a fewe dayes after chaunced to have an Englysh prymer in hir hande, whyche was set furth in the kyng my ffather his dayes,^d and I axyd hyr what booke yt was, and she tolde me yt was that booke; and then,

^c Not Lady Jane Grey, who was executed before Elizabeth came to the Tower, but her attendant, Lady Anne Grey, already mentioned.

^d "In the year 1640 a committee of Bishops and Divines was appointed by King Henry VIII. (at the petition of the Convocation) to reform the rituals and offices of the church. And what was done by this committee for reforming the offices, was reconsidered by the Convocation itself two or three years afterwards, viz., in February 1642-3. And in the next year the King and his Clergy ordered the prayers for processions and litanies to be put into English, and to be publicly used: and finally, in the year 1646, the King's *Primer* came forth, wherein were contained, amongst other things, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Venite, Te Deum, and other hymns and collects in English; and several of them in the same version in which we now use them."—*Wheatly*, p. 20, ed. 1846.

as she sayth, the same l. Graye at that tyme dydde saye unto hir these words: and yt plesse yo^r grace, me thynke the suffrags sette furth In thys booke were a goodelye prayer to be used afore yo^r grace by yo^r chapleyn, in the tyme of thys yo^r adversytye; to the whyche, she sayethe, she then answered, I knowe the quenes Ma^{tie} doethe not use yt, and therefore unles my Lorde chamb'leyn^e * wyll assente to yt, yt shall not be used for me: my Ladye Graye should saye to that ageyne, she thowght my saide Lorde beinge movyd therein wold not say naye to yt, by cause yt was used in the kynge yo^r moste noble ffathers dayes. Whereuppon, she sayethe, she asked my saide Lorde the question, and upon hys assente at that tyme, hath used yt ev^r synce. The next daye beinge Sundaye, her chapleyn tellethe me that she hadde the same daye comāunded hym no more to saye the same letanie, in theys words: S^r Wyllm, yow may no more saye the Suffrags in Englyshe. By force of yo^r highnes warrante menconed in the latte end of yo^r lres, I have and shall cawse the Reparacions therein remembered to be done shortelye, wth god hys grace, in whoes moste blessyd Tuicion to be longe and many yerz o^r moste dreade and suffereyne Ladye, I beseche hym to Graunte to hys Infynite m'cie sake. ffrom yo^r maties howse of Woodstocke, the xvjth of October, the fyrst and seconde yere of the kinge and yo^{re} most prosperous Reigne.

My lres to the Counsell.

After my humble dutye to yo^r honors Remembered; Theys shall be even so to desyer the same, that the berer hereof, my brother Antony, maye Revive my sewte made for mony by my lre berynge date the fourthe of thys psent monthe, ffo of Trothe synse that tyme I have bene dryven to lende certeyne

* Sir John Gage.

mony of my owne to the porest sorte of the vyttellers of Woodstocke, or else hadde not bene able to have vyttellyd the quenes ma^us soldioures Thus longe. And therefore thys there manyfeste necessyte Enforsythe me to trouble yow wth often sewte for the same.

M^r Parry, thys greate ladies coferer, dothe Intende to kepe hys awdyte here in Thys towne at the Inne where he lyethe, & uppon that colour theys viij or x dayes laste paste divers of hyr s'vaunts hathe repayed to thys the Quenes highnes howse, sekinge occasion to speke w^t their fellowes, whych beyng answered that theye myght not dooe, deputed Imediatlye; and thereuppō I sent incontynentlye to the same M^r Parry, declayrynge their repayer to his howse. And he answered him that wente of that message, that he hadd warnyd all hir gracs s'vaunts, not beinge appointed to wayte dayly, uppon there alegiaunce not to come eny nerer thys howse then hys lodginge, and was, as he saide, for hys owne pte sorye theye should sooe mysuse them selves, pmysinge to dooe as muche as lyeth in hym that yt shall nooe more be sooe. I praye yo^r L. lette me know yo^r plesures how to use them yf the happen to make the lyke attempte, After thys second warnynge.

M^{rs} Morton, the Quenes Ma^us woman, ys at this Tyme very sycke, and not able to wayte: and M^{rs} Tomeyow only lefte. Horneby,^f one of the Gromes of my ladis gracs prevy chamber, hath many tymes Requyred me to move yo^r L. to graunt him lycense for a whyle to be absente, that he maye

^f "I lette passe the dangerous escape of Robert Horneby, servant sometime and grome of the Chamber to Ladie Elizabeth, shee being then in trouble in Queene Maries daies: who being willed to come to masse, refused so to doe, and therefore comming afterward from Woodstocke to Hampton Court, was called before the Councell, and by them committed to the Marshalsey, and not unlike to have sustained further danger, had not the Lord's goodness better provided for him, who at length by Doctor Martin was delivered."—*Foxe*, III., 932.

seeke remedy for a diseases w^{ch} he hathe, as he saythe: there be divers other matters w^{ch} be to longe w^t their circumstaunces to expresse in thys letter, and therefore I have made bold to putte them in articles delyveryd to my saide Brother, to understonde yo^r plesure by, as o^r lorde almyghtye knowethe, to whoes most blessyd Tuition I commend yo^r L. ffrom the Quenes ma^{tie} howse of Woodstocke, the xxⁱⁱ daye of Octobre, the secunde and first yere of the kinge and quenes ma^{tie} p^{er}sp^{er}owes Reighne.

My humble dewtye unto yo^r honorable lordshypps Remembryd: theys shall be to advetyse the same, that thys presente xxjth of October, my ladye Elizabethes grace commaunded me to ppare things necessarye for hyr to wryte w^t unto yo^r lordshypps; whereupon I toke occasion to declare unto hir grace, that the Expresse words of yo^r honorable l^{res}, datyd at Hampton courte the xv of Septembre, didde not beare that the quenes Ma^{tie} was pleassyd that hyr grace upon eny occasion from tyme to tyme movyng, and as often as yt pleasyd hyr, myght wryte unto yow. And therefore I prayed hyr grace to staye hyr determina^{con} therein, untill I myght singnyfye thys my doubte unto yo^r L., and Receyve yo^r full and playne determina^{con}s therein for my dyscharge: whych my sayde sowte she toke in so yll pte, that hyr grace of dysplesure therein didde utter me w^t mō words of reproche of thys my s^{er}v^{ice} abowghte hyr by the Quenes hygnes commaundement, then ever I hard hyr speke afore: to longe to wryte. At after none hyr grace sente for me by M^r Tomeyow ageyne, and then in a more quieter sorte requyred me to wryte unto yo^r honors, and thereby to desyer the same to be meanes for hir unto the Quenes hygnes to graunte that Docto^r wendye, Owyn, and Huike, or two of them, may be lycencyd w^t convenient spede to repayer hyther, for to mynister unto hir

physyke, brynginge of their owne chose oon exparte Surgion to let hir gracs blode, yf the saide doctors or twoe of them shall thinke yt so good, uppon the vewe of hyr sewte at their comynge; to whych thre psons, or two of them, hyr grace sayethe she wyll comytte all the pvities of hir bodye, or else to no cretures alyve, w^oute the Quenes hyghnes especiall commaundement to the contrarye, w^{ch} she trustethe hyr Ma^{tie} wyll not dooe. Hyr grace desyerethe that thys hyr sewte maye have spede answer, whereby she maye inioye thys tyme of the yere apte for thys purpose afforesaide, moste hartely desyerynge yo^r honours to Returne w^t the same yo^r absolute opynions to the fyrste matter; whych shall be done accordyngly, w^t o^r lords leave and helpe to understond yo^r plesures and commaundements aryght; whych this greate ladye sayethe may have good meanynge in me, butte yt lakethe knowlege, experience, and all other accidents in such a s^vice requysytte, whych I must neads confesse: the helpe only hereof restyth in god, & the quenes ma^{tie}, w^t yo^r honorable advysys. ffrom whence to receyve the dyscharge of thys my s^vice, w^oute offence to the Quenes ma^{tie} or yow, my good L., were the Joyfulleste tydyngs that ever came to me, as o^r L. almyghty knowethe, to whome all secrets be hydden. And so leave to trouble yo^r honors w^t thys Rewde wrytynge, ffrom the Quenes ma^{ties} howse of Woodstocke, the xxjth daye of Octobre abovesayed.

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trustye and right wellbeloved, we grete yow well, and lette yow wete wee have sene yo^r letters addressyd to o^r counsayll the xxijth of thys monethe, by the whych wee dooe well understond thaunswere made by yow to the ladye Elizabethe, consernynge hir sendinge unto o^r counseyll, w^{ch} yo^r answeere

we take in good pte, and are well pleasyd w^t the same. And if there be eny especiall matter such as may seme requeste to be brought to o^r knowlege, she may use for declaracōn thereof unto us any one of o^r tooe physitions whome we dooe p^sentlye send unto hir w^t a surgion, accordynge to her desyer signified to o^r counseyll by yo^r saide l^res. Geven under o^r Signet at o^r Pallace of Westmester, the xxvth of Octob^r, the firste and seconde yere of o^r Reighne.

My letters to the Counseyll.

Pleasythe yt yo^r honorable lordeshypps to understonde that, the xviiijth [xxviiijth] of Octobre laste paste, I rec^d the quenes most gracious l^res, dated at hir pallace of westm^r the xxvth of the same monethe, d^d unto my hands by docto^r Owen & Wendye, w^{ch} together wth hyr highnes said l^res were sent hyther wth a Surgion, and came to this hir highnes howse uppon sundaye nyght the daye abovesaide; w^{ch} ij gent, accordynge to the warraunte in the Quenes ma^{ties} l^re conteyned, I browghte to the p^sence of the L. Elyzabethes grace that night; that done, de^ptid. And as I p^{ce}yved by the nexte daye yt was agreed by them that she should be letten blowde accordyng to hir late desyer by my poore l^res, w^{ch} by hir owne commaundement after warde I saw done by the bledynge of hir arme. And at the afternone I was called so sone, I saw hir foote stryken & bleade; since w^{ch} tyme, thanks be to god, as far as I see or here, she doethe resonablie well, as that case requierethe. And as to the reste of the matter in the quenes ma^{ties} said l^res remembryd, I dooe not doubte I shall be sufficiently dyscharged by the reporte of hir highnes saide p^hesitions, w^{ch} ys agreeable to hir moste noble plesure therein conteinid. And now, my l., onles yt plesethe yow to take order that my Brother Anthonye may rec^e mony wthin theis

x dayes now next folowinge for the payment of the Quenz soldiours here, w^{ch} be owynge for nyne weks wⁱⁿ fower dayes, then shall I be in daunger of a late bond w^{ch} I have entered uppon the re^c of ij c powndes, imployed here to thuse aforesaide, and to be repayed a London wⁱⁿ tenne dayes now nexte comynge, w^{ch} I have enterprysyd to dooe for to be advoyded of the daylye exclaymynge of the poore vittellers in Woodstocke, & for the better execution of the Quenz ma^{ties} s[']vice. Most humblye besechynge yo^r L. the rather to tender thys my sewte. Even so commyttinge yow all to o^r lord almyghtye hys moste blessyd Tuicion.

After my humble dewty to yo^r honorable lordshypps rememberyd: these shall be to advertyes the same, that my ladye Elyzabethe, at divers tymes since the Quenes ma^{ties} phessyons were here w^t her, hathe requyred & commaunded me to wryte unto yo^r l., and oon hyr behalfe, to desyer the same to be meanes unto the Quenes Ma^{tie} that she may knowe hyr highnes plesure & answeare to the late sewte, whych she was lycensyd to declare unto the same phesytiōs by hyr owne mowthe, by them to be repeatyd unto hyr ma^{tie},^s w^t thys ffurther, that yf hyr hyghnes wyll not of hyr gracious grante the same, nor yet that she shall be no otherwyse enlarged then she now ys, that then yo^r honors wold move that she myght be apointed a place nearer to london or hyr owne

^s It was not on the 8th of June, as Foxe and others relate, but on the 29th of October, according to this account, that the physicians attended Elizabeth. They made a "good report to the Queene and the Councell of her Grace's behaviour and humblenesse toward the Queenes highnesse. Which her Maiestie hearing, took very thankfully: but the Bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queene, they marvelled that shee submitted not her selfe to her Maiesties mercy, considering that she had offended her highnes."—*Foxe*, III., 949.

howsys, to remayne at durynge the Quenes plesure, w^{ch}, she sayethe, yf yt shall not be thowght good to be graunted in respect of hir pson or chargys, yette that yt may contente yow to dooe yt apon pytty of the poore menne whych are daylye sore travyled w^t extreme longe iorneyes thys wynter wether and dayes, in makinge the caryage of pvyision to s^{ve} here; whych also, yf greate weete once fflowle as in thys tyme of the yere yt ys accostomed for the moste pte to dooe, then shall nooe carts be able to come for waters, from whence she hathe hyr saide pvyision to be browght, w^{ch} hyr grace desyerethe yo^r L. in the waye of charyte to consyder. And I, my L., most hartely beseeche yo^r lordshypps to dispatche my brother Antony w^t mony for the Quenes ma^{tie} soldioures, whych from the Quene ar owynge at thys present daye, for a eleven weeks, whych for o^r lords love I pray yow geve psent order for, as well for the savyng of my poore credyte I advertysed yo^r l. of in my laste lres, as for the release of my poore countrymenne. Even so takinge my leave of yow, ffrom the Quenes Ma^{ties} howse of woodstocke, the xixth of Novembre, A^o R^a et Regine pmo et secundo.

MARY THE QUEENE.

BY THE QUEENE.

Trustye and well belovyd, we gret yow well. And foras-
muche as we have resolved to have the lady Elyzabethe to
repayer nerer unto us, we dooe therefore praye & require
yow to declare unto hir that o^r plesure is, she shall come to
us to hampton courte in yo^r companye, w^t as much spede as
yow can have things in order for that purpose; wherein yow
shall not nede to make any delay for callynge of any other
nombers then these, whyche be yo^r selfe and be now there
attendantte uppō hir. And of the tyme of yo^r setting for-
wards from thense, and by what daye yow shall thinke yow

may be there, we require yow to advertyse us by yo^r lres w^t spede. Geven under o^r signit, at o^r honno^r of Hampton courte, the xvijth of Apryll, the firste and ij^{de} yerz of o^r reighne.^b

^b It will be seen that there is a space of five months between the date of this letter and the preceding one. In the meantime Elizabeth was allowed (through the intercession of Philip, it is said) to spend the Christmas with the Queen at Hampton Court. An account of her entertainment there will be found in Aikin's *Court of Elizabeth*, I., 187-8; but the supposition there made that "she visited the court (from Woodstock) occasionally, perhaps frequently," is not borne out by the present documents. She must have returned to Woodstock, after this short liberation, from whence she was finally removed by virtue of the above letter of Mary, dated April 17, 1555. The particulars given by Foxe of her removal evidently refer to this time, as he mentions that Bedingfield was then discharged of his attendance on her. She travelled first to Ricot; the next night "to M^r Dormer's, and so to Colbroke, where shee lay all that night at the George," and where she was met by threescore of her gentlemen and yeomen; who, however, were ordered to depart. The next day she entered Hampton Court. A fortnight afterwards, the Lords of the Council having assembled, endeavoured to make her confess herself an offender, which she refused to do, saying she would rather lie in prison all the days of her life. After another week, the Queen, whom (as Foxe says, by some mistake) she had not seen for two years, sent for her at ten o'clock at night; and the interview was not unfavourable to her. On that day week Sir Henry Bedingfield was discharged, and Elizabeth committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Pope; and a few months afterwards took up her residence permanently at Hatfield in Hertfordshire. The death of Mary occurring Nov. 17, 1558, Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed Queen: "exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from dread to dignitie, from miserie to maiestie, from mourning to ruling; briefly, of a prisoner made a princesse, and placed in her throne Royall, proclaimed now Queene, with as manie glad hearts of her subiects, as ever was anie King or Queene in this realme before her, or ever shall bee (I dare say) hereafter."—*Foxe*, III., 950-2.

Erratum.—Page 135, line 8, for "his predecessor as Constable," read "Lieutenant."

INDEX.

- Afterdele**, 205
Ambassador, French, Elizabeth's secret letters found in his packet, 182, 185
Armour for Sir Henry Bedingfield's soldiers, 144
Arundel, Earl of, 166, 167, 179, 196
Aston, 151

Barnes, Dr., 181, 191
Bath, Earl of, his house in Holborn, 207
Bedford, Earl of, 210
Bedingfield, Anthony, 141, 143, 199, 201, 205, 219, 223, 225
Bedingfield, Edmund, 170, 173, 177, 183, 198, 204, 209, 210, 212
Bedingfield, Humphry, 159, 171
Bedingfield, Humphry, a kinsman, 187
Bedingfield, Lady, wife of Sir Henry, 197
Bedingfield, Mr., 144
Bedingfield, Sir Henry, his life and character, 134—37; ordered by the Queen to muster 100 men, to serve in the Tower of London, 140; warrant for £300 for them, 144; his letters reciting the Lady Elizabeth's journey from the Tower to Woodstock, 146; his difficulty in observing the same orders at Woodstock as at the Tower, 148; the Queen's orders to him at Woodstock, 167; he is to look to the state of the country there, 158; examines John Fortescue, 173; whose Latin phrases pass his Norfolk understanding, 173; his report to Elizabeth of the Queen's letters, 185; and of the Council's answer with respect to the attendance of physicians, 190; refuses to write to the Council at Elizabeth's dictation, 192; the Council permits him to do so, 196; the Queen's letter allowing him to be absent for the day whenever he chose, and leave to hunt in the park, and for his wife to visit him, 197; asks for supplies of money, 199, 201, 204, 215, 219, 224, 225; his letter to the Bishop of Ely, asking for his discharge, and for a house in London, 206; lends money to the victuallers of Woodstock to supply the soldiers, 220; his anxiety to be discharged of his office, 222; ordered to bring Elizabeth to Hampton Court, 225; his discharge, 226 (*note*)
Bells rung at Aston, and ringers imprisoned, 151
Bible, Elizabeth asks for an English one, 172, 175; allowed to have one, 178
Black Friars, the Bishop of Ely's house there, 207
Block, 200
Bonner, Bishop of London, 216
Books, Latin, 172
Bourne, Mr. Secretary, 171, 172, 181, 188, 196, 210
Bradbelt, Dorothy, not allowed to attend on Elizabeth, 169
Broughton, Mrs., 165
Broune, Sir John, 147, 162, 164, 193
Brydges, John, a servant, accused, 198; ordered to be imprisoned, 200, 201
Bucks, two to be served weekly for Elizabeth's household, 188
Bycester, 174
Byrcheall, 200

- Carew, Sir Peter, 184
- Causeway between St. James's and Charing Cross, 206
- Chamberlayne, Lady, wife of Sir Leonard, 199
- Chamberlayne, Sir Leonard, 164, 193, 199, 200; his presence at Woodstock necessary, 199
- Chandos, Lord, 141
- Chaplains to Elizabeth, 208 (*note*)
- Cheyney, Sir Thomas, 181, 188
- Clarkenwell, 170
- Cloth of Estate, not allowed to be hung up for Elizabeth, 163
- Coldharbour, 143
- Compas to set the pen in; an expression thought suspicious, 169, 173
- Cooke, Christopher, a very protestant, 160
- Cornwallis, gentleman usher, 163; ill, 177; 179, 184, 188, 189, 190, 195, 199
- Council, letters of the, 155, 163, 167, 168, 174, 178, 180, 187, 195, 200, 204, 207, 209
- Coventry, players at, accused, 202, 205
- Cranmer, Archbishop, his remaining at Oxford thought hurtful, 194, 196
- Crudge, William, servant to the Duke of Suffolk, suspected, 194
- Derby, Edward, Earl of, 167, 188
- Dormer, Jane, 150, 151
- Dormer, Lady, 150, 151
- Dormer, Mr., of Thame, 150
- Dormer, Sir William, 150, 151, 161
- Edmonde, or Edmonds, son-in-law to Lord Williams, 162; brings presents, 177
- Elizabeth, the Lady, cause of her arrest, 137; conveyed to the Tower, 140 (*note*); the Lord Chamberlain's orders about her when at the Tower, 141; inquiries and answers of the Privy Council as to the same, 141—4; her journey from the Tower to Woodstock, 146; offer of marriage with the Prince of Savoy, 147 (*note*); weary in the litter, 148; at Eton and Wickham, 149; cakes and wafers thrown into her litter, 149; stays at Sir Wm. Dormer's at West Wickham, 150; his entertainment of her, 150; the bells being rung at Aston, the ringers are imprisoned, 151; stays at Lord Williams's at Ricot, 151; well entertained there, 152; passes through Whatleye, Stanton, Islyppe, and Goswirth, to Woodstock, 153; only four chambers for her there, and but three doors in the whole house able to be locked and barred, 154; the cause of her removal to Woodstock for her greater quiet and comfort, 158; the Queen's orders to treat her honourably, 158; not to have conference with any suspected person, nor to receive or send any message or token, 159, 164; claims a promise of leave to walk in the whole park, 161, 164; desires to have John Pictones to teach her languages, 161, 164; her skill in languages, 161 (*note*); sends for books, 161; the cloth of estate not allowed to be hung up for her, 163; in danger of fire, 163; is allowed to have books, 164; her attendant Elizabeth Sandes, a person of evil opinion, ordered to be removed, 166; the Council displeased at books being sent her privately, but allow her to have any honest and sufferable book she may ask for, 169; her grief at Sandes's removal, 170, 176; asks for an English Bible, 172; Bedingfield's answer, 175; troubled with swelling in her face, 174; asks Bedingfield to obtain leave for her from the Council to write to the Queen, 176; allowed to have an English Bible, and to write to the Queen, 178, 179; allowed to have a physician from Oxford, the Queen's physicians not being able to attend her, 181; the Queen's answer to her letter, and the reasons for suspecting her traitorous, 182; her letter to the French King, 182 (*note*); the Queen will not be molested with any more colourable letters, 183; desires to see the Queen's physicians, 183—4; her objections to the answer of the Council, 190; hears the Queen's refusal to be molested by her letters, 192; asks Bedingfield to write, at her dictation, to the Council, 192; her grief at his objecting, declaring herself worse treated than the prisoners in the Tower or Newgate, 192—3; her expression of despair, 193; the Council's

- permission for Bedingfield to write at her dictation, 196; her suit, 203; the letter sent, 202; desires to be tried on some special charge, or to be allowed to go to the Queen, 203; reminds the Council of her father's will, 203; if neither request granted, asks that one of the Lords may be sent to receive her suit at her mouth, 203—4; asks to send a servant of her own with the message, 205; her declaration of innocence before receiving the Sacrament, 206; complains of Bedingfield's scrupulousness, 208; allowed to send her own servant with letters enclosed in Bedingfield's, 209; writes a letter to be sent by Verneye, 211; she is observed not to use the prayer for King Philip after the Priest in the Litany, 214; consents to have the Litany said in Latin before her, and explains how it came to be said in English, 218; not allowed by Bedingfield to write again; her anger, 221; desires physicians and a surgeon to be sent for, 221; she is bled, 223; the physicians' report of her, 224 (*note*); repeats her request to be moved nearer to London, 224; goes to Hampton Court, 226 (*note*); returns to Woodstock, 226 (*note*); is sent for to Hampton Court, 225
- Ely, Thirlby, Bishop of, 181, 188, 196, 201, 204, 210; letter to, 206
- Enville (Enfield), 184
- Fortescue, John, son-in-law to Parry; required to be sent from Oxford, 171; 172, 173, 174, 176; examined by Bedingfield and Thomew, 173; his diffuse Latin phrases, 173
- Gage, Sir John, 145, 166, 170, 175, 179, 181, 201, 207, 210
- Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, 156, 167, 170, 181, 188, 196, 201, 204, 210
- Goswirth (Gosford), 153
- Graye, Lady Anne, 161, 179, 207; recommends the English Litany to Elizabeth, 218
- Gresse, 188
- Hampden, clerk of the kitchen, 189
- Hare, Sir Nicholas, 145
- Harecourte, Sir John, 162
- Harryse, Laurence, accused, 162; bailed, and his confession returned, 164
- Hastings, Sir Edward, 156, 167, 188, 196
- Hewes, Dr., 180, 190
- Heywoode, accused with players at Coventry, 205
- Holborn, the Earl of Bath's house there, 207
- Horneby, Robert, groom of the chamber, 220
- Huddleston, Sir John, 156
- Huycke, Dr., 183, 191, 221
- Hyll, a servant, 188, 189, 195, 198
- Hyll, John, ordered to be examined and punished, 165, 174
- Isalpye, 153; custom there, 163
- Jernegan, Sir Henry, 166, 175, 179, 188, 207
- Jersey and Guernsey, 199
- Knevet, Sir Thomas, 155 (*note*)
- Latimer, Bishop, his remaining at Oxford thought hurtful, 195, 196
- Litany, *see* "Sufrage"
- London, Bishop of, his book containing the spiritual order of his diocese, 216
- Marbery, 160
- Marbery, Elizabeth, 160, 164, 167, 169; 170, 176
- Mary, Queen, her orders to Sir Henry Bedingfield for the custody of the Lady Elizabeth, 167; her approaching marriage, 179; allows Elizabeth to write to her, 179; her answer to Elizabeth's letter, and her reasons for suspecting her loyalty, 182; refuses to receive any more letters, 183; orders the Litany to be said in Latin, 214; promises consideration of Elizabeth's case, 217; sends for Elizabeth to Hampton Court, 225
- Mary, Queen, letters of, 140, 157, 166, 182, 197, 214, 217, 222, 225
- Mary, Queen, warrant of, 179
- Mason, Sir John, 170
- Money: £380 employed by Sir H. Bedingfield, 201; £150, 209

- Mordaunt, Lord, 200
Morton, Margaret, 165, 210, 211, 214;
ill, 220
- Navas, Marquis de las, 176
Noailles, M. de, 182 (*note*)
Norreys, Mr., 149
Norwich and Ely, Thirlby, Bishop of,
145, 156, 167, 170, 181, 188, 196, 201,
204, 206, 210
Norwyche, Elizabeth, not allowed to at-
tend on Elizabeth, 169
Noryce, John, gentleman usher, 147
- Orders, to be observed about the Lady
Elizabeth: in the Tower, 141—3; at
Woodstock, 155
Otelonde, 176
Owen, Dr. George, 165, 181, 183; his let-
ter prescribing for Elizabeth, 186; 221;
comes to bleed Elizabeth, 223
Oxford, Chancellor of, 170
Oxfordshire men, the Queen's hope of
them, 148
- Paget, William, Lord, 167, 167, 181, 188
Parry, Thomas, cofferer to Elizabeth,
155, 161, 170, 171; suspected of secret
communication with her, 177; 178, 179,
184; report and directions to him, 187;
the number of servants suspiciously
resorting to him, 194, 196; 200, 220
Pembroke, Earl of, 179, 181, 188
Petre, Sir William, 140, 145, 156, 167,
170, 175, 179, 181, 188, 196, 210
Philip, Prince of Spain, 175
Pictones, John, a teacher of languages
to Elizabeth, 161, 164
Pigotte, Francis, 162
Pillory, Henry Squire set in the, 174
Players at Coventry accused, 202, 205
Powell, Justice, 148
Poyntz, Mrs., 165
Presents brought to Elizabeth, 177
Primer, King Henry the Eighth's, 218
- Rain, a great, 174
Raynsford, Sir William, 162, 164, 171,
193, 196, 202, 212
Richmond, 147
Ridley, Bishop, his remaining at Oxford
thought hurtful, 195, 196
- Risborough, Princes, 162
Robyns, 200
Rochester, Sir Robert, 145, 166, 167, 170,
175, 179, 181, 188
Rome, authority of the Bishop of, 147
Rome, words touching the Bishop of, 213
Ross, Andrew, examined touching pro-
phesying, 200
Russell, Lord, a protestant, 150
- Sackford, Henry, a servant, 198
Sandes, Elizabeth, 160, 164; a person of
an evil opinion, 166; 167, 169; sent to
Bondon, 170, 176
Sedition, alluded to, 201, 205
Servants of Elizabeth unwilling to at-
tend divine service, 216
Shandoes, *see* "Chandos"
Smyth, Charles, groom of the pantry,
put in ward for absence without leave,
162; admonished, 165
Smyth, Mr., admitted to speak with Eliz-
abeth, 167
Smyth, Richard, 179, 184, 195, 199
Squire, or Esquire, Henry, accused and
sent to the Council, 162; sent back,
164; put in the pillory in a great rain,
174
Stanton St. John, 153
State of the country as to religion, be-
tween London and Oxford, 148; at
Woburn, 150; about Woodstock, 193,
200, 205
Suffrage and Litany said in English by
Elizabeth's chaplain, 213; ordered to
be said in Latin, 214, 218
Sussex, Earl of, 156
- Taylebush, Lady, wife to Sir P. Carew,
184
Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich and Ely,
145, 156, 167, 170, 181, 188, 196, 201,
204, 206, 210
Thomew, or Tomew, Mrs., ordered to
attend the Queen's marriage, 179; 208,
211, 220
Thomew, or Tomio, Mr., 155, 163, 165,
171, 173, 177, 178, 180, 188, 189, 191
- Verneye, Francis, suspected, 177; 187,
194, 196, 199, 202; carries Elizabeth's
letter, 211, 212, 215, 217

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Walbec, or Welbec, a physician, 181, 191
 Waldegrave, Sir Edward, 157, 167
 Warde, Mr., 149
 Warrant of the Council for the furniture
 of a hundred men, 144
 Warrant of the Queen, 179
 Wendy, Mr., 181, 221; bleeds Elizabeth, 223
 Wharton, Thomas, Lord, 157, 175, 188, 196
 Whatley (Wheatley), 153
 Wickham Market, 150
 Wickham, West, 149, 151
 Williams, Lady, 151, 153
 Williams, Lord, 148, 151, 152, 153, 154, 177, 212</p> | <p>Winchester, Gardiner, Bishop of, 156, 167, 170, 181, 188, 196, 201, 204, 210
 Winchester, Marquis of, 145, 156, 167
 Windsor, 146, 147, 149
 Woburn, 150
 Woodstock, 146, 152, 153, 177, 189, 194, 197; Elizabeth's journey to, 146; sign of the Bull at, 194, 196; Mayor of, 200; repairs necessary, 202; inconvenient in winter, 225
 Wright, George, 162
 Wynter, 184
 Young, Dr., 170</p> |
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Antiquities

FOUND AT CAISTER, NEAR NORWICH.

COMMUNICATED

BY ROBERT FITCH, ESQ., F.G.S.

A FEW months since, a labourer, drilling barley in a piece of glebe land of the Rev. John Arthy, in the occupation of Mr. Williams, of Caister, near the rectory, found the small bronze bust figured in the first engraving. The field in which the discovery was made is at some distance from the Camp, and on the opposite side of the road leading to Norwich, and hitherto has been chiefly noted for the large number of oyster-shells turned up by the plough.

An eminent antiquary (Mr. Akerman) is of opinion that this laurel-crowned head represents Geta, from the resemblance it bears to the head on coins of that emperor. Blomefield's list of coins found at Caister includes one of Geta.

The purpose to which this bust was applied is not very apparent: the stump of a pin, by which it was fastened to a flat surface, appears at the back. To whatever object it was fixed, it would seem to have been raised above the rim or edge, the back of the head being finished as carefully as the front. A series of busts, extremely like this, are fixed to a large bronze instrument, or forceps, found in the bed of the Thames in 1840, and engraved in the 30th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 548. Somewhat similar ornaments



CAISTER ANTIQUITIES.
PLATE I.





CAISTER ANTIQUITIES.

PLATE II.

appear on the rims and handles of vases and pateræ figured in *Montfaucon, Recueil d'Antiquités*, &c.

Not far from the field in which the bronze was discovered, and on land of Mrs. Dashwood, occupied by Mr. Spurrell, the fine terra cotta fragment, figured in the second engraving, was found, under similar circumstances, a few years ago. Few persons can fail to be impressed with the sweetness and dignity of this beautiful work of art, notwithstanding the mutilations it has suffered. A noble head and neck, full of life and animation, with a portion of the drapery of the figure and the end of a bow, are all that remain of this undoubted and admirable specimen of Roman art. It has been recognized by antiquaries as Diana.

These antiquities, now in the cabinet of Mr. Fitch, were found, it will be observed, at a distance from the Camp, the large area of which has not within memory produced anything antique, except a few coins.* This has been the case with other camps, where large excavations have been made. Mr. Roach Smith regretted the paucity of minor works of art produced in his late excavations at Lyme; Mr. Lower expressed himself surprised at a similar deficiency at Pevensey; at Burgh Castle a few trifling coins and fragments of rude urns were alone met with; from Brancaster, Mr. Lee Warner only obtained a few objects of little value.

Under the heat of a summer's sun, the vegetation within the area of the Camp at Caister indicates the presence of considerable foundations a little beneath the surface: an examination of these would probably lead to interesting results, and are well worthy the attention of the Society. If permission could be obtained to excavate, sure we are that the necessary funds would be most readily raised.

* Since the above was written, a small bronze fibula has also been found (August 20, 1853), in a field on the South side of the Camp. It is of the common type of Roman fibulæ, and, excepting the top of the acus, is quite perfect. It will be preserved in the cabinet of Mr. Fitch.

Mr. Goddard Johnson has kindly furnished us with the following account of Coins found at Caister:—

The Roman Coins found at Caister, near Norwich, consist more commonly of Small Brass, many of which, as well as those of the larger size, are in so corroded a state as to be quite illegible, both as regards their type and legend. A few Large and Middle Brass are occasionally picked up, as well as some Silver, and, very rarely, those of the more precious metal, of only one of which I have any account. It is now in the possession of the Rev. James Lee Warner, of Walsingham, and is engraved in the Norwich Volume of the Archæological Institute.

The following is a List of such Coins, found at Caister, as have come under my notice, that are at all legible. First, the GOLD COIN above-mentioned:—

IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. *Reverse*: PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VII. COS. IIII. P. P. *In the field*: EX—SC. A figure of Rome, standing with its left foot on a bust, holding in its hands a circular shield having circular marks thereon.

COINS OF SILVER.

1. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. PM. TR. P. XI. *Reverse*: IMP. XXI. COS. XVI. CENS. P. P.
2. IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DAC. P. M. TR. P. *Reverse*: COS. V. PP. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC.
3. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GERM. DAC. *Reverse*: P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. S. P. Q. R.
4. IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG. *Reverse*: PM. TR. P. COS. III. Rome seated, holding a Victory.
5. IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG. *Reverse*: P. M. TR. P. COS. III. A galley with sails expanded. Very rare.
6. IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. *Reverse*: TR. POT. XV. COS. IIII. *In the exergue*: PIETAS.

This type, in silver, is not noticed by Occo or Akerman. Occo mentions it in *gold*, but does not notice the fawn on its hinder legs licking the hand of the figure, which holds a patera in its right hand, over an altar with fruit thereon.

7. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. *Reverse*: TR. POT. COS. II. Two right hands joined, holding a caduceus and two ears of corn united therewith.
8. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. *Reverse*: T. R. POT. COS. IIII. *In the exergue*: LIB. IIII. Figure, standing, holds a tessara in its right hand, and a cornucopia in its left.

9. SEVERUS. PIVS. AVG. *Reverse*: FELICITAS. AVGG.
10. IULIA. AVGVSTA. *Reverse*: VENUS. FELIX.
Julia Severus, Domna, and Pia: she has the three titles.
11. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. AVG. Head to right hand. *Reverse*: SECVBITAS. PERPETVA. S. C. Pallas armed with spear in left hand, shield in right. *Caracalla*.
12. IMP. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. *Reverse*: P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. III. P. P. *Elagabalus*.
13. IULIA. MAESA. AVG. *Reverse*: SÆCULI. FELICITAS.
14. IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. *Reverse*: P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.
15. IMP. C. P. LICIN. GALLIENVS. P. F. AVG. VI. *Reverse*: FELICITAS. AVG. VI.
16. SALONINA. AVG. *Reverse*: IVNO. REGINA.
17. DN. VALENTIANVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: RESTITVTOR. REIP. *Ezergus*: CONS. Very rare.

LARGE BRASS.

1. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. GER. DAC. PM. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. *Reverse*: REX. PARTHIS. DATVS. *In the ezergus*: S. C.
2. IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG. *Reverse*: P. M. TR. P. COS. III.
3. HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. II. *Reverse*: SPES. . . PR. *In the field*: S. C.
4. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. F. TR. P. COS. III. *In the ezergus*: BRITANNIA. *In the field*: S. C.
5. AVRELIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P. II. COS. *Reverse*: PIETAS. AVG. With the Sacrificial Instruments,—the præfericulum, simpulum, aspergillum, dolabrum, and lituus.
6. IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG. P. M. *Reverse*: CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVI. *Ezergus*: COS. III. Aurelius and Verus joining hands.
7. IMP. C. POSTVMVS. P. F. AVG. Laureated head. *Reverse*: LÆTITIA. *In the ezergus*: AVG. A galley with four rowers.
8. IMP. POSTVMVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: FELICITAS. AVG. A trophy with two captives at the foot.
Very similar to those figured in Pembroke, p. 3, t. 89; Cooke, Pl. LII., No. 13; and Haym, Vol. I. p. 282: but the legend in all the above works reads . . . MANCUS. MAX., and this imperfectly.
9. IMP. DIOCLETIANVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: SACRA. MON. VERB. ET. CAESS. N. N. *In the ezergus*: R. T. *In the field*: R—F.
10. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. CAES. *Reverse*: SACRA. MON. VERB. AVGG. ET. CAESS. N. N. *In the ezergus*: R. T.

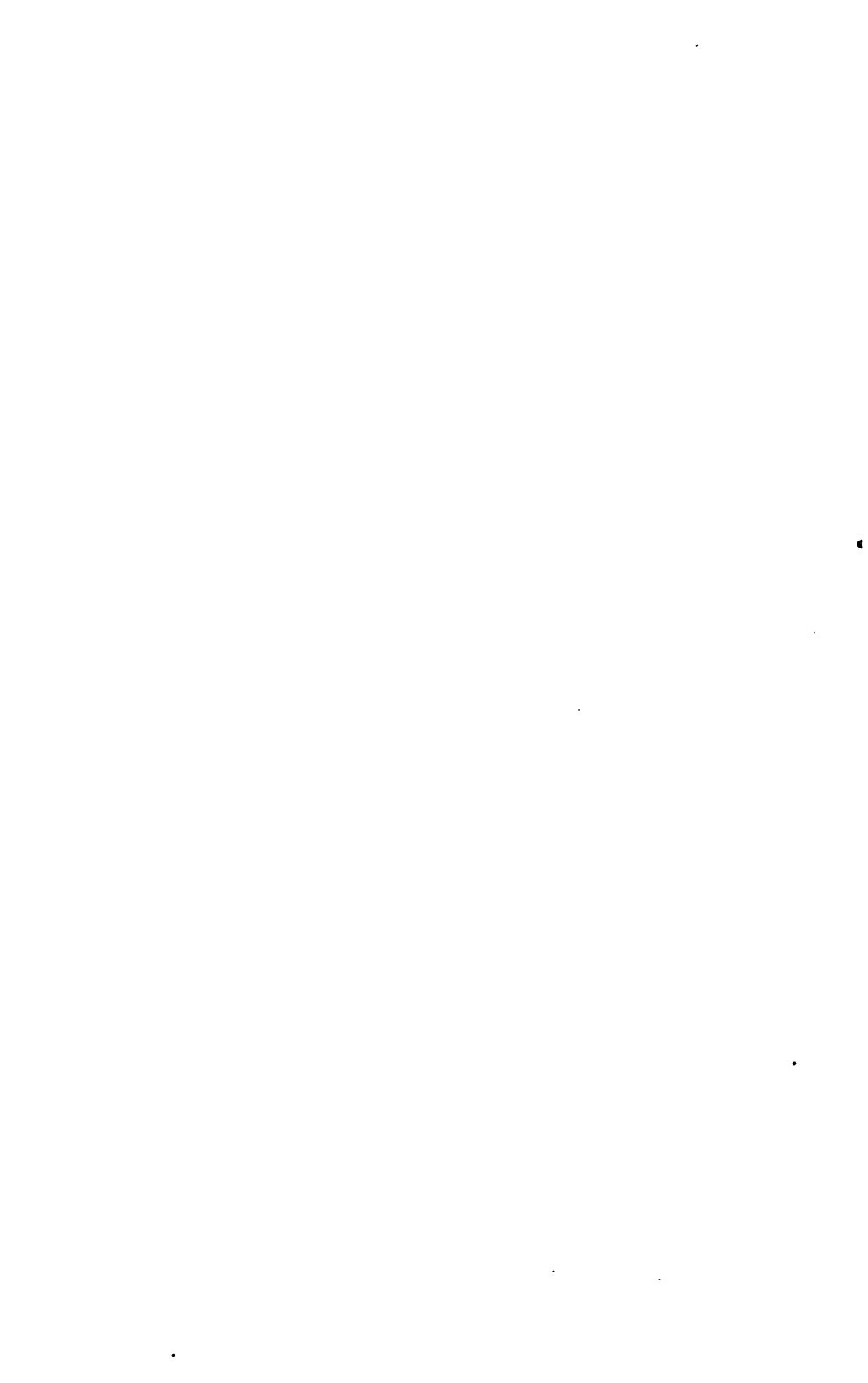
SECOND BRASS.

1. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. III. *Reverse*: SECVBITAS. AVGVSTI.
2. DOMIT. CAES. IMP. PON. T. R. P. COS. II. CENS. *Reverse*: PAX. AVGVST. *In the field*: S. C.
3. IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIANO. GER. DAC. PM. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. *Reverse*: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. *In the ezergus*: ALIM. ITAL.
4. DIVA. AVGVSTA. *Reverse*: AETERNITAS.
5. IMP. MAXIMINVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: IOVI. CONSERVATORI. *In the field*: G. H. *Ezergus*: SIS.

THIRD OR SMALL BRASS.

1. IMP. C. PIAV. VICTORINVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: FIDES. MILITUM.
2. PIVEV. TETRICUS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: PAX. AVG. The elder Tetricus.
3. PIVEV. TETRICVS. CAES. *Reverse*: SPES. . . AVGG. The younger Tetricus.
4. DIVO. CLAUDIO. *Reverse*: CONSECRATIO. An eagle: head to the left.
5. IMP. PROBY. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: SALVS. AVG. *Exergue*: X. XI.
6. IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: PAX. AVGG. *Exergue*: ML. XXI.
7. IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: FELICITAS. A galley.
8. IMP. ALLECTUS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: TEMPORVM. FELICITAS. *In the field*: S. A. *Exergue*: M. S. L. Figure, standing, holds a caduceus in right hand, a cornucopia in left.
9. FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. C. *Reverse*: PROVIDENTIAE. CAES. The Prætorian gate.
10. FL. MAX. THEODORA. AVG. *Reverse*: PIETAS. ROMANA.
11. IMP. C. VAL. LIC. LICINIVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: IOVI. CONSERVATORI.
12. IMP. CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: PRINCIPI. IVVENTIVS. *In the field*: S. A. *Exergue*: P. T. S.
13. CONSTANTINVS. MAX. AVG. *Reverse*: GLORIA. EXERCITVS. *Exergue*: S. M. T. S. A.
14. CONSTANTINUS. AVG. *Reverse*: PROVIDENTIAE. AVGG. Prætorian gate.
15. IMP. CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. *In the field*: T. F.
16. CONSTANTINVS. MAX. AVG. *Reverse*: GLORIA. EXERCITVS. *Exergue*: P. CONST.
17. FAV. CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG. Head of Fausta, veiled, second wife of Constantine the Great. On the *reverse*, she is represented in a quadriga going to heaven: the hand of Providence is held out from a cloud to welcome her. This coin is of considerable rarity.
18. FL. IVL. CRISPVS. NOB. CAES. *Reverse*: BEATA. TRANQUILITAS. *On an altar*: ^{VOT}_{IS}
_{XX.} *Exergue*: S. T. R.
19. CONSTANS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: VICTORIAE. D.D. AVGG. N. N. *In the field*: D. *Exergue*: T. R. S.
20. DN. CONSTANTIVS. P. F. AVG. *Reverse*: FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. *Exergue*: T. R. S.
21. DN. MAGNENTIUS. P. F. AVG. *Rev.*: GLORIA. ROMANORVM. *Ex.*: T. R. S.
22. DN. VALENTIANVS. P. F. AVG. *Rev.*: GLORIA. ROMANORVM. *Ex.*: T. R. S.
23. DN. GRATIANVS. AVGG. AVG. *Reverse*: GLORIA. NOVI. SAECULI. *Exergue*: T. CON.

A great number, bearing Romulus and Remus with the wolf, are continually being found, as also are those with "CONSTANTINOPOLIS" upon them: so common, indeed, as not to deserve more particular notice.





BRASS SEAL.

21 Edw. III.

found at Marsham, Norfolk.

NOTICE OF A BRASS SEAL

IN THE

Possession of George Jones, Esq., Marsham.

THE Seal figured in the accompanying engraving, was found, a short time ago, at Marsham in this county. It was then in its original state; but before it came into Mr. Jones's possession the handle had been filed off. He has since obtained it, and the Seal can probably be restored very nearly to its primary condition.

It contains a shield with the arms of England and France ancient quarterly; above which is a head in profile, with a sword before it: the legend, "SIGILLUM SUBSIDII DUORUM SOLIDORUM DE SACCO LANE IN LONDINIUM." The explanation of this inscription must be sought for in the Rolls of Parliament, no grant of such a subsidy appearing upon the Statutes of the Realm.

In Cotton's *Abridgment of the Records* (1679) will be found an abstract of the entry on the Rolls, from which it appears that, at a Parliament holden at Westminster, the morrow after St. Hilary, 21st Edward III., the Commons petitioned thus: "Whereas, in a Council holden by Lionel, the King's son, the Guardian of England, it was in the 21st year of the King ordered, *without the Commons*, that for the keeping of the realm and safe conduct of ships, should be taken, upon every sack of wool passing the seas, two shillings; upon every tun of wine, two shillings; upon every

pound de savoires brought back into this realm, sixpence; and this charge to continue until Michaelmas next coming: which charge is yet demanded. That the King will be pleased that the same charge may be let fall, and to write his letter to the collectors thereof that it cease."

Answer (by the King). "All charges supposed in this article are laid down, except two shillings upon the sack, which is to endure until Easter next."

The period when this Seal was made is therefore very exactly ascertained.

By Letters Patent, printed in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. III., Part I., p. 116, the collectors of this subsidy were ordered to purchase flags for the Edward of Grenewych, Sainte Mariecogg of London, the Plente of Hooke, and the Barnabas of London.

H. HARROD.



Notes on the Records

OF THE

CORPORATION OF GREAT YARMOUTH.

By HENRY HARROD, Hon. Sec.

THE Corporation of Yarmouth having done me the honor to request my assistance in the arrangement of their Records, I have availed myself of the opportunity to make notes and extracts of such matters as seemed likely to be useful and interesting to the members of the Society.

The principal documents are the Charters, the "Hutch Maps," and a series of Court Rolls from the 17th Edward I., with a few fragments of those of a few years earlier.

The Charters and the Maps were at the bottom of an enormous iron-bound chest, called the Town Hutch, now at the Tolbooth, or Sessions-house, which also once contained many of the Deeds and Rolls belonging to the Town, now lost. The keys of the hutch are very good specimens of mediæval iron-work. The Court Rolls, after being examined by Manship, Swinden, and Ives, were supposed to have been also lost, except a few purchased by Dawson Turner, Esq., many years ago, of a distant collector; when, on pulling down the old Guildhall, at the entrance of the churchyard from the market, a few years since, two oaken cases, with many drawers, were found, which, on being unscrewed, presented the series of Rolls, nearly complete.

Of the Charters, a very full and accurate account is given by Swinden, in his voluminous and very dull History of the

Town; and I shall commence my notes respecting them by correcting an error he has made about an early one, because it is one of those errors impossible to be detected without reference to the Records; and his words have already led some astray upon the matter, and may do so with others, without a shadow of suspicion crossing their minds that his usual accuracy had here failed him.

He states that the Charter 13th Edward I. was called the "*Porthorse*," "from its frequent travelling to other courts, to challenge or claim the liberties of the burgh;" and he cites from the Rolls three instances of its having been so pleaded,—17th Edward I., 27th Edward I., and 18th Edward III.* It would very naturally be thought that these were merely selections, but he has in fact cited every instance of its "travels," and the terms of the first entry are precisely the same as those of the last. The word he takes for "Porthors" is "Porthoïs."† He adds an entry on the Rolls 7 Edward II., which he calls "a suit about *the* Porthorse." John de Folsham sues certain friars for detaining a book called a "Porthoïs;" that is, a *Portius*, or *Portiforium*, the Breviary of the Roman Catholic Church; and not a "Porthors," as he has printed it.

Why it was so called, I cannot at present ascertain; but we have in the *Norwich* Court Rolls, 17 Edward I., an entry, that "Roger de Tudenham delivered to the Commonalty of the City, in full court, their Seal and divers Charters; but one, "the third Charter, called *Porthoïs*, of Edward now King, remains in the custody of Thomas de Framingham,

* Swinden, p. 663.

† John of Gaunt leaves the Bishop of Lincoln, "my missal and my *porthous*," 1397. (*Testa. Vetusta*, 142.) Sir Lewis Clifford bequeaths to Sir Philip la Vache, "my mass-book and my *porthoos*," 1404. (*Testa. Vetusta*, 165.) Elizabeth, Countess of Northampton, to the Friars Preachers, London, "one pulpitary, one *portfory*," 1356. (*Testa. Vetusta*, 60.) "*Porthois*, a portasse, or breviary." (Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic Words*.)

the attorney for the Commonalty, for maintaining the liberties when challenged." I do not find either the Charter itself or a copy of it among the Norwich Records. The Yarmouth one states, as the reason for its being granted, that "that word Plead by the Justices and others of the King's Counsel by the virtue of that word, is construed to be as well actively as passively;" under which interpretation they had decided in other courts on pleas concerning tenures in the burgh, and which were intended to have been decided in the Burgh Court only: and this Charter therefore grants that none of the burgesses thereafter "should plead or be impleaded out of their burgh of any plea except pleas of out-tenures;" thus restoring to the Burgh Courts the sole jurisdiction in suits relating to tenements within their walls. From the above reference to the Norwich Charter, I should judge it to be to the same effect; and, indeed, all burghs having a charter from King John containing the word "Plead" took care, no doubt, to obtain a similar confirmation of their liberties.*

The statement of Swinden, therefore, that the name Port-horse was given to this particular Yarmouth Charter in consequence of its travels, is a mere guess of his own, without the slightest authority or foundation whatever. It is by no means desirable that archæologists should be restricted from "speculating" on matters about which no recorded evidence exists; but they should be careful to indicate what

* The great Survey of the Conqueror affords another instance of a name, the reason for which has as yet baffled inquirers. Barrington suggests its derivation from *Dom*, a Celtic word rendered *Seigneur*; and *DRYA*, *Proclamation, advertisement*; and therefore meaning "the King's advertisement to the tenants who hold under him." But this seems a far-fetched idea; equally so that given by Stowe, from a monkish chronicle, that *Doomsday* was a corruption of *Domus Dei*, the name of the room in the Treasury where it was kept.

has authority and what has none, or it may lead to endless confusion and difficulty.*

I should, however, say a few words about the huge chest, known as the Common Hutch. The present chest appears to have been constructed about the fifteenth century, and, with its three large keys, its enormous bars, and strong iron binding, would strike every one as being intended to contain something of greater commercial value than the charters and parchment rolls. This was the case, for when any of the several *Seals* of the corporation were wanted, a committee was appointed to open the hutch and take what was required therefrom; and the several documents having been duly sealed, the committee had to see the seals carefully restored and the hutch closed. The proceedings of this committee were regularly entered in the "Hutch Books," of which a few remain. *The Book of Entries*, a volume containing amongst other things the proceedings of the Common Council in Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth's time, affords

* Blomefield indulged largely in this very inconvenient and perplexing habit. See note, p. 260, Vol. II. of our *Original Papers*, as to the origin of the name, "per Mountergate," given by him. He also says that St. Peter's Hungate, Norwich, was so called because the Bishop's hounds were kept close by—thence *Houndegate*; Tomblond, from having been a churchyard: there being no authority whatever for saying that a Bishop ever kept hounds in or near Hungate; and the word Tomelond being pure Saxon, meaning a void or empty space. Tomblond included not only the site of St. Michael's chapel and graveyard, but the site of a part of the Earl's palace and other buildings, and void ground; and there is just as much authority for the name having been applied to it in consequence of its being an open vacant space, as from its having been overspread with "tombs." Again, St. Stephen's Street, Norwich, was in mediæval times Needham Street; it was the head of a long line of Roman road running in nearly a straight course to Needham Market, in Suffolk, where it either deviated or fell into some other. Blomefield tells us, without naming any authority (indeed none existed), that St. Stephen's Church was founded before the Conquest for all the sick and *needy* belonging to the Castle; thence was the street called Needham. These are a few instances.

information of another use to which the hutch was also put. "Also (it says) wher before this time it hath been established and enoitted by Common Assembly, that all doggers, fishers, and lyners belongyng to this town of Yarmouth or using the commodity of the haven of Yarmouth aforesaid, shull yield, pay, and render every year an half dole of the profit of their voyages and fishings, to and for the reparation and susten-tation of the same haven, and that the money coming of the same half doles shall be put into the *Common Hutche*, as in an ordinance thereof made in the Common Hall, the Friday next after the feast of Saint Edmund Martyr in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King that now is the 18th, more plainly in the little Book of Assemblies ap-peareth, *it is now fully condescended and agreed* that the profits of the half doles aforesaid, which shall or have falle or happ after and from the feast of Saint Michael the Arch-angel last past before the present assembly, shalbe levyed and put into the *Common Hutch* aforesaid, to the use and for the reparation of the haven aforesaid; and that the same money shall there remain not taken out for any other cause but only for necessary provision for the said haven, and that to be done from time to time by common assembly, and not otherwise; and that if any person hereafter shall presume to take any of the money aforesaid out of the said hutch, to and for any other intent or purpose than is be-fore rehearsed, shall forfeit for every time ten pounds, for a fine, over and besides the satisfaction and repayment of the said sums of money by him or them so taken out, and that fine to be levied of the goods and chattels of the person or persons offending, to the common profit of the town." Hence it appears the hutch was used also as a bank of deposit, and we shall therefore cease to be surprised at its large size and careful construction: on the contrary, we may wonder how they managed to stow away so many different things as we learn from the Records were deposited therein.

In this hutch, up to the time of Henry VII. or Henry VIII., all the Town Records were placed; and here, we are told in the notes appended to copies of some of the documents in books of that period, were the Golden Book, the Domesday Book, the Little Red Book, and the Great Black Book; all which contained valuable information on the customs and privileges of the burgh. These books have been long lost; and all that is now known of them is, that extracts, said to be taken therefrom, are found in volumes now themselves antiquities.

Among the Court Rolls now existing, I was able to find but very few *Coroner's* or *Sessions Rolls* of early date. The only ones, for many years, are for the 23rd and 26th years of Edward I., from which I make the following extracts:—

Inquisitions made before John Wyth, William de Goseford, Nicholas le Potter, and Thomas Clerk, in the year of King Edw^d. the 23^d, for gaol delivery.

John Pope, of Somerton, John Plonkett, Robert le Hopper, Geoffrey Plonkett, and Lenota de Hedon, taken at the suit of Simon Finch, of Cortekyn, “cum manu opere,”* viz. with cloth to the value of 24s. stolen and carried away from the ship of the said Simon Finch. They say they are not guilty, and place themselves upon twelve sworn men; who say that they are guilty. Ideo ad jud^m. S^o.

The same Simon Finch, and Richard Trot, of Caister, accused Walter de Ingham of robberies and thefts. Who, being required to plead, says that he is a clerk; but no one being present appointed by the Bishop to challenge him as a clerk, he is remitted to the gaol.

Memorandum: he afterwards died in prison.†

* *Manuopus, Manopera*, goods taken in the hands of an apprehended thief.
—Cowell.

† A similar case of perplexity, arising from a like cause, occurred long afterwards at Ipswich. Sir Humphrey Wingfield writes to the Lord Privy

Letitia, daughter of Thomas le Meiser, convicted of a burglary in the house of John Allen in "Kingstonhusrowe."* "Ideo S^o." "No chattels."

Thomas Ladde, of Reppes, convicted of stealing a brass spoon and two towels stated to be of the value of 18*d*. The Jury appraised them at 10*d*.: he was therefore remitted to gaol for three days.†

John Chapman, of Burgate, and William, son of Reyner, of Tunstede, convicted of stealing a super tunic of the value of 2*s*., a pair of paternosters, a razor, price 1*d*., a forceps, a zone with harness, price 4*d*., from Bartholomew de Bosco of South Carleton; Catherine Herre for stealing cloth; Walter Helmes, of Donewich, for stealing a chest from a ship; * * * de Waterbeche, for stealing a pair of shoes, were all hung. In all ten persons executed for theft on that gaol delivery.

Abiurations in the same year:—

John Schot, of St. Edmund's, placed himself in the church of the Friars Preachers the Friday after the Conception of the Blessed Mary, in the year 23, acknowledged to have stolen goods and chattels of merchants of Wincelse and

Seal (temp. Henry VIII.), "Ther were at the laste Gayle delyvery holden in the King's towne of Ipsewiche, for the delivery of the Gayle of the same town, iij felons arayned upon iij severall Indictments of severall felonyes, & every of them pleded not gyltye. Wheruppon xij men charyd to trye the same, fownde every of them gyltie. Ther uppon every off them prayed ther book, & for that the See of Norwiche then was vacant, & none ordinary to here them rede, the Iustices of the Pease that wear at the said sessions repried the said felons without any judgment upon the said verdit by them given, because the kepyng of them wer sum what daungerous."—Ellis's *Original Letters*, third series, Vol. III., p. 83.

* This was afterwards called Kingston Row, and, temp. Edward III., "the Brode Row."

† This was in consequence of the distinction between grand and petty larceny: if the jury had appraised the goods at 12*d*. he would have been hung! As tenpence was the full value in their opinion, he gets off with three days' imprisonment.

Flanders to the value of £30., and to have broken prison at Yarmouth; abjured the kingdom the Monday following, and a port is given him at Portsmue within three weeks. Walter Brun, Coroner, John With, Nicholas le Potter, and other of the King's lieges, present. His chattels: 1 short jacket, value 3s., Hunry le Rus to answer; one tunic, 11d., one corset, 14d., one hood, 10d., one pair of socks and one hood, 3d., a sword and buckler, 18d., wherefore Nicholas le Potter answers; also a feather-bed, 14d., whereof Henry Sergeant to answer.

M^d. that John Bon, of Gipeswic, received the above £30. from him.

Geffrey Gom, of Lym, placed himself in the church of the Friars Preachers same day, and acknowledged to have killed Richard * * * of Vascony, and to have broken prison at Yarmouth the day and year aforesaid; he abjured the kingdom the Monday aforesaid, and port is given him at St. Botulph's [Boston] in fifteen days. The same parties present. No chattels.

Richard Clerk, of Norwich, placed himself in the church of St. Nicholas the same day, and acknowledged to have killed John Russell, and to have broken prison at Yarmouth; abjured the kingdom the Wednesday after the feast of St. Lucy the Virgin, in the year of King Edward 23, and port is given him at Hampton [Southampton] in a month. Present there, Walter Brun, Coroner, and others. No chattels.

Coroner's Roll, 26th Edward I. In the time of Robert With and his associates, Bailiffs.

Inquisition made of the death of William Aylward, of Beston, the Saturday after St. Nicholas, in the year aforesaid, before Walter Brun, Coroner, by 12 sworn men of the town of Yarmouth, who say on their oaths that William Aylward and Geoffrey the son of William With quarrelled on the night of Wednesday after St. Nicholas, in the year 26, in a certain

fish-house of Geoffrey,* son of Oliver With, in Yarmouth, so that the said William struck the said Jeffrey upon the arm with a certain astelle,† and the said Jeffrey took another astelle and struck the said William with the same in the head, and he languished from that night to the night of the Friday following, when he died. Chattels of the same Jeffrey, none.

Afterward the said Jeffrey had letters of pardon for the said death from our Lord the King.

William, son of Henry de Cath, was found killed in Middelgate, *next the Friars Minors*,‡ the day of Epiphany, in the year 26. Thomas Taberner found him first, for whom Richard de Bromholm and Robert Cook are pledges. Next neighbours are, William de Elingham, for whom Adam de Wodeside and Robert le Ton, are pledges; John Scriptor, for whom John de Ormesby and William de Elingham; Richard de Beverle, for whom Adam de Wodeside, Geoffrey de Fordele, Richard de Bromholm, are pledges; John de Fordele, John de Broxston, pledges for them.

The above extracts furnish us with a few curious facts in illustration of the criminal jurisprudence of mediæval times.

The execution of ten persons at one assize for robbery, strikes us in the present day, when the propriety of taking away life, even in cases of murder, has been so warmly and forcibly contested, as a measure of awful severity;§ yet it must not be thought that the period was one of unusual

* This Jeffrey With had a moiety of the tithage of Yarmouth, and the family was one of great wealth and consideration at this period.

† *Astelle*, a schyld, a piece of a wooden log cleft for burning.—*Prompt. Paru.*, 16.

‡ Speed says the Gray Friars Monastery was founded in the time of Henry III.; but Stowe asserts that Edward II. was the founder. The above entry proves that Stowe is wrong, without however completely establishing that Speed is right.

§ Amongst the depositions in the great dispute between Yarmouth and Sir William Paston, 16th Henry VIII., as to the boundary between Yar-

rigour: the records of the Old Bailey, even in the last century, would furnish numerous parallel passages.* The benefit of clergy, too, by which Walter de Ingham escaped whilst his more ignorant companions suffered, was not completely withdrawn till the year 1826. The right of sanctuary, which enabled murderers to obtain transportation for life in place of their rightful doom, with the additional advantage of being able to select the place of their exile, is illustrated by the three instances I have quoted. They are all I have met with in the Yarmouth Rolls. Swinden quotes another instance under the year 1297.†

The *Gaol Delivery Rolls* of the latter part of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries contain strong proofs of the action of that horrible superstition which sent so many old and helpless women to the scaffold. On the Roll of the 17th of Elizabeth, Katherine Smythe was indicted "for using witchcraft and enchantment, whereby Mary Dogeon came by her death;" but she was acquitted. In the 39th of Elizabeth, Helena Gill was indicted for using witchcraft on this very *Catherine Smythe*, whereby the tongue, legs, and leg-bones of the same Catherine were wasted and destroyed. No record occurs of the event of this trial. It furnishes, however, another instance (and there were many during this unhappy persecution) of one of these poor old creatures, after enduring such heavy and causeless suffering, being goaded at length into accusing another of the like practices.

mouth and Caister, is one of a man aged 65, who deposed that fifty years before he had seen a gallows erected on part of the disputed territory, and fourteen Yarmouth felons hanging thereon at one time.

* 1721, March 4th, 17 persons condemned at Old Bailey. April Sessions, 6; May, 8; July, 12. In the year 1726, at the April Sessions, 15 were condemned, of whom 10 were executed, 3 reprieved, and 2 died in prison.—*Historical Register*.

† Swinden, p. 922.

But it was in the time of the notorious Hopkins that Yarmouth people were induced to follow the example which had been set them all over the Eastern Counties, and condemned these poor wretches by wholesale. In the year 1644, this fellow had a commission from Parliament to make a circuit for the discovery of witches, and had 20*s.* allowed him from every town requiring his services. In the year 1645, Yarmouth desired his services.

Assembly } In the Assembly, on the 15th August, 1645, It
Book. } was agreed that the gentleman, Mr. Hopkins, employed in the country for discovery and finding out of witches shall be sent for hither, to come to town to make search for such wicked persons, if any be here, and shall have his fee and such allowance for his paines and labour in that end as he hath in other places in the country.

Hopkins had too many engagements to give a very long time to it, and we therefore find it was considered necessary to have a permanent staff on the spot. At the Assembly, 7th October following, it was agreed "that the women which searched those persons that are suspected for witches shall be allowed 12*d.* a day amongst them for every day they attend that business; and from henceforth only four of them to be employed in that kind of work, viz., in the first place, Elizabeth Harward, and such three others as she shall choose to joine with her. And the watchers to be paid for their paines."

The effect, or a part of the effect, of these exertions appears on the Roll of the 21st Charles I. (1645). On the 10th of September in that year, the Jury presented—

Alice Clipwell, spinster, for having used, practised, and exercised witchcraft, and with many evill, wicked, and diabolical spirits consorted, consulted, and made compact; and

such evil spirits, with evil intention, did feed and entertain, agst the peace &c., and agst the statute, &c.

Bridgetta Howard, sp^r., for the like.

Maria Blackbourn, widow, for the same.

Elizabeth Dudgeon, spinster, for the same.

Elizabeth Bradwell, spinster, for practising witchcraft and sorcery; and for having diabolically and feloniously used, practised, and exercised the same art upon and against John Moulton, the infant son of Henry Moulton, hosier, from which the same child lingered and languished in great peril of life. The same Elizabeth was further presented for similar practices on one Elizabeth Linstead, spinster; and again, there was a general presentment against her, for practising witchcraft and feeding and entertaining evil spirits.

Johanna Lacey, for witchcraft and feeding and entertaining spirits.

Which said Alice Clipwell, Bridget Howard, Maria Blackbourn, Elizabeth Dudgeon, Elizabeth Bradwell, and Johanna Lacey, were this instant Wednesday, the 10th December, 21st Charles I., at the first hour of the afternoon, placed at the bar. And at the same hour the Serjeant at Mace returned a panel of names of a Jury; viz., Geo. Glascock, William Hodgekins, Peter Appleyard, Thomas Hall, Jno. Dye, George Winter, Jno. Cades, Benjamin England, Francis Kemp, Daniel Corse, Gregory Berry, and Thomas Mayes, who say on their oaths, that the said Alice Clipwell, Bridget Howard, Maria Blackbourn, Elizth Dudgeon, Elizth Bradwell, and Johanna Lacey are guilty of felony: that they have no goods or chattels.

And thereupon it is adjudged by the Court, that the said Alice, Bridget, Maria, Elizth, Elizabeth, and Johanna should be suspended by the neck, &c., until, &c.

And every of them, except the same Johanna, were suspended. And execution of the same Johanna was respited.

At the Sessions in December, *Mark Prince* was indicted

for having used witchcraft and enchantment, and declared to one Ann Cann where a certain cushion was, which the said Ann had lost.

Another indictment charged him with telling, by like means, a certain John Ringer, mason, what was become of certain small pieces of silver money, called "single pence," which the said John had lost; but he was acquitted, as were also Nazareth Fasset, spinster, and Maria Verdy, spinster, against whom there were no less than five separate indictments.

In the course of the following year more were presented, but no further convictions appear.

Hopkins stated that he had caused sixteen to be slaughtered at Yarmouth, but I found the records of only the above seven.

The unfortunate women who perished on the memorable trial at Bury Saint Edmund's, in 1644, when Sir Thomas Browne, the author of the "*Religio Medici*," gave evidence of his belief in witchcraft, which had great weight with the Court, were from the neighbouring port of Leystoft; so that it appears this district was strongly imbued with this melancholy superstition.

From the mass of *Plea and Deed Rolls* I have extracted a few entries. To go carefully over them and extract all that is of value, would occupy a very much longer time than I can possibly give to the task. As far as I am able to judge, there appears to be a great deal of valuable information locked up in these Rolls, particularly as regards the laws and customs of merchants.

10th Edward I.—Peter Pauker, of Anteney, paid Constance, of Lincoln, half a mark for Geoffrey Morel and others of the same community, debtors to the said Constance, because for default of justice, in those parts, distraint ordered

on all of that community coming to Yarmouth, for payment of the same debt.

Item, Gerard Pincel paid same Constance half a mark, Luke de Anteney, half a mark, and John le Engleis, half a mark.*

John Hervy, of Caister, came into court and acknowledged for himself and his associates, that the Bailiffs of Hythe had faithfully acquitted themselves of all debts to this day, for sustaining the Beacon at Castre.

11th Edward I.—John Bospar, son of John Reyner, paid Thomas Thirkeld 2s. And said Thomas released said John of all demands against him for his debts, in the parts of Isre, (a similar case to Parker's. Fifty-nine other persons from Isre pay Thirkeld 2s. each, to make up £6., owing to him from other men of those parts.)†

* Here is a note of a similar case at Boston in 1308. A writ was addressed to the Bailiffs of John of Brittany, for the town of St. Botolph, which recites that a complaint had been made to the King by John Aleyn, of Great Yarmouth, affirming, that "the bailiffs of the town of Bruges had forcibly seized a ship belonging to the said John, called the Great Cogge of St. Mary of Yarmouth, being in the port of Swyn and freighted with goods for Southampton. That they took possession of this vessel and detained it, to the great damage of the said John." The writ states that both the last and the present King had, by special letters, often requested the Court of Flanders to do justice to the said John, which he had hitherto neglected to do. The Bailiffs of Boston were therefore commanded "to cause the goods of the said town of Bruges, as well as of the town of Sluys, and of other towns, to be seized, until the amount of damages (£110.) due to the said John shall be fully paid to him, and complete compensation for his losses."—*Parliamentary Writs*, Vol. II., p. 21, quoted in "Remarks on the Early Commerce of Boston," published by the Lincoln Architectural Society, p. 373, 1853.

† This was under an ancient custom of the burgh, which was found of great service in those times. If a foreigner became indebted to a Yarmouth man, and the latter made oath thereof before the Bailiffs, they directed letters to the magistrates of the town where the foreigner dwelt; and after three months, a second letter; and if no satisfaction were made in a reasonable time, then attachment issued in the Burgh Court of Yarmouth against the next ship from that place, or any goods of any inhabitant of that place coming within the liberties of Yarmouth.

14th Edward I.—William Wildgoos * sought of Wm. Crop-ling 17 chaldres of coals, of the price of 4*d.* for every chaldre, at New Castle, for which merchandize he had given him other goods to exchange for coals at New Castle, now two years since. It was adjudged he should deliver the coals and pay half a mark.

26th Edward I.—Letitia Bon sought of Mabil de Childerhus 6*s.* 8*d.*, being the residue due to her on an agreement made between them, that the aforesaid Letitia should cure the said Mabel of a certain disorder; which amount Mabel unjustly detained, to the damage of the said Letitia of 2*s.*, &c. And thereon Mabel came and defended herself. Admitted the agreement and the default in payment; but maintained that she was not cured, therefore, &c. (no cure, no pay.) Inquisition ordered.

[This case must have been compromised, as I cannot again detect it.]

7th Edward III.—Edmund de Burgh and Godfrey de

* Those who take pleasure in tracing the origin of surnames, will find ample food for the indulgence of their taste in these rolls. There is the usual large proportion of names derived from towns; as, William de Drayton, Roger de Paston, Drury de Wiggenhall, Roger de Castre. We have, too, the large mass of population to whom their occupation furnished a distinguishing title: John le Webster, Roger Wyndrawer, Hugh le Heymonger, Brice le Porter, William le Spicer, Andrew le Glasswright, Ralph le Osterman, Gold le Blodleter, Richard le Teguler, Robert Carpenter, Simon le Organister. There are, too, numbers of fantastical compounds, some of which must be extremely difficult to trace to their source: William Wildgoose, Richard Castherring, Bennet le Long, John del Stepel, William del Sond, Adam le Shreven. There are Pluckferthings, Lickbeards, and Puddingwives, whose designations may possibly be accounted for; but how came Thedman Thusandpund and Simon Fourapeni by such names? There was a habit of substituting a nickname for a fixed designation, which leads to a great deal of difficulty; for instance, a certain litigious fellow named Robert, a tailor, thence called Robert Tailor, frequently figures as "Brunrobyn" and "Brown Robin the Tailor." One can hardly be surprised at the step taken by Geoffrey de Sparham, Bailiff of the Hundred of Wayland, who, in order to secure the right person, is recorded in the *Hundred Rolls* as having distrained upon all who were called "John" in the town of Thompeon.

Colney, executors of the Will of William Ambros, clerk, produced in court the Monday next before the feast of St. George, before Thomas de Drayton and his associates, Bailiffs of Yarmouth, the aforesaid Will made the 7th June, 1332, *and which had been legally proved* before the Dean of Flegg and Town of Great Yarmouth, the 5th of the ides of June in the year aforesaid, and desired to have enrolled *certain clauses in the said Will touching free tenements*, in these words: "I leave to Eufemia, my wife, my capital messuage, &c., to hold for her whole life; and after her decease, I give and devise the same to Edward, my son, his heirs and assigns, for ever. Item, I give and devise to Thomas, my son, and Rose, his mother, and the heirs of the said Thomas, a piece of land, &c., which I bought of the executors of the Lady Sibilla Flathe, in Great Yarmouth, which is called 'Ambrose Land,' saving the dower of the said Euphemia."

It very rarely happens that the entries of devises are made with the same precision as in this case. Generally, both in these Rolls and those of Norwich, either the portion relating to tenements within the burgh is extracted, or the whole Will is copied upon the roll without note or comment. But in this case, it will be observed, it expressly states the whole procedure, which fully agrees with that laid down in the ancient Laws and Usages of Norwich, cap. 18.* The ancient Law of Yarmouth does not state whether the Will should be produced before or after proof before the Ordinary, see cap. 6, Swinden, p. 158: it merely required that wills disposing of tenements within the liberties of the burgh, should be produced and entered on the Great Roll; but claimed no proof of the Will by the Bailiffs, to the exclusion of the Ordinary, as has been supposed.

* The copy of these laws, which I have examined, directs the enrolment to be made by the Clerk of "*the Bailiffs*." As Bailiffs ceased to govern Norwich in 1403, this compilation of the "ancient laws" must itself be as old as the end of the fourteenth century.

13th Edward III.—Sarra, wife of John Spicer, son of Roger de Stodey Spicer, and Oliver, apprentice of the said John Spicer, produced the Will of the same John Spicer before the Bailiffs, such Will having been proved before the Dean of Flegg and town of Great Yarmouth.

13th Edward III.—William de Oxney summoned to answer Richard de Scouteby, master of the ship Bartholomew, belonging to Bartholomew de Thorpe, he having broken agreement for one cargo of wine, and said, that by the agreement made at Burgdeux, the said William undertook to ship at Burgdeux aforesaid, 21 tons (*dolia*) and 1 pipe of wine for Great Yarmouth, at a freight of 27s. 6d. for every ton; and that he failed to do so, to the damage of same Richard of £40. William pleaded that there was no such agreement. The Jury decided that there was, although it had not been affirmed "*per argentum dei*," nor registered on paper.* Damages £18.

2nd Richard II.—William Green complained that Thos. Skerall had agreed that said William should take his ship to Newcastle, and return with 30 † chaldrons of coals, to be paid for every chaldron 5s. 6d.; and afterwards, when he returned with the coals, the said Thomas declined to receive them, to his damage 2s. Verdict for Plaintiff.‡

18th Edward IV., July 10th.—Thomas Bozoun, Prior of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, went before

* The value of a shilling in binding a bargain, even at the present day, must be well known to every one. *God's penny*, earnest pennie.—*Halliwel*.

† This seems for a long period to have been the average burden of Yarmouth vessels.

‡ *Price and freight of coals*. In the 40th Edward III. a considerable quantity of coals being required for works in progress at Windsor, the Sheriff of Northumberland purchased 576 chaldrons at Winlaton, in the county of Durham, at 1s. 5d. the chaldron. The price at Newcastle, 14th Edward I., was 4d. the chaldron, (see p. 253). The cost of the carriage from Newcastle, was £5. 18s. 6d.: the freight from Newcastle to London, 3s. 6d. per chaldron.

John Russe, Bailiff of Yarmouth, and required enrolment of a Plea of Fresh Force.*

The proceedings appear to have commenced on the Monday before St. Valentine, 17th Edward IV., by a complaint on the part of the Prior against Robert Swolle, that he had unjustly and without right disseised the same Prior of his free tenement in Yarmouth. The Prior's pledges were *John Trace and William Place*.

A Jury is summoned for the Tuesday after the Quinzaine of Easter; and thereupon the Prior puts in his place Bartholomew Elys, his attorney.

The Sergeant at Mace returns a Jury, and here we have *Adam Tyll and John Fille*, pledges; and *John Doo and Henry Foo*, manucaptors.

Bartholomew Elys for the Prior claims a rent of 13s. 4d., of which Swolle has disseised him; and states the action was commenced within the forty days required, namely on the 3rd of February then last. Robert Swolle appears, and denies the Prior's claim; issue is joined, and the cause remains over till the Friday next after the feast of St. George the Martyr following. The venire is returned for that day; and the names of *John Till and Robert Fille* now figure in the proceedings.

At length, the cause being ripe for a decision, the Jury found that the rent arose from a rengiate † of land built on, then of Robert Swolle, before him of his father John Swolle, and before him of Sir John Fastolfe. That the rent pertained to the Altar of the Church of Saint Nicholas, the said Prior and his predecessors having been seized of the said

* *Fresh Force* was an action to recover lands or rents of which the plaintiff had been dispossessed within forty days before the action was brought; he complained that he had been forcibly dispossessed within that time, whence the name, *frisca fortid*, "by fresh force."

† *Rengiatum*. It is applied in these rolls to a long strip of land, but is not confined to any particular quantity.



1 	2 	3 	4
5 	6 	7 	8
9 	10 	11 	12
13 	14 	15 	16
17 	18 	19 	20
21 	22 	23 	24
25 	26 	27 	28

MERCHANTS MARKS. G¹ YARMOUTH.

church, and therefore entitled to the rent. That the Prior had seized by way of distress for the said rent, a piece of cloth, hanging in the hall of Swolle's house, on the same rent-gate of land. That there had been no fraud or collusion between the Prior and Swolle (to evade the Mortmain Act.) And the Prior recovered his rent and all arrears, and four pounds five for his costs.

The above case is worthy of notice, for several reasons. The ancient form of proceeding to recover lands by writ of *fresh force*, or *recent intrusion* as it was also called; the pains evidently bestowed at that period to stem the current which was bearing so large a portion of the real property of the kingdom into the possession of the ecclesiastics; the use of the name of the Prior of the head Monastery of Norwich, and not that of the Prior of Yarmouth, as plaintiff; and last, but not least, the appearance of our venerable friend, John Doe, in his youth, surrounded by a circle of equally substantial relatives, seemed to entitle this case to a place amongst my extracts: it will be observed too that the property out of which the dispute arose, was part of the estate of Sir John Fastolf, at the Foreland. But I must now go to another subject.

Although there can be no doubt the merchants of Yarmouth used Marks as largely as their Norwich brethren, it is hopeless to recover anything like such a collection of them as that Mr. Ewing has furnished of Norwich Marks. The brasses in the church are all gone, the painted glass destroyed, and scarcely a deed remains among the muniments,—from all of which sources Mr. Ewing gathered largely at Norwich.

I have been able to collect a few, figured in the accompanying plate. The Book of Entries has, at p. 57, an ordinance made in 1577, when it was intended to borrow £1000. of the city of London, to assist in repairing the haven. Several of the 24 and 48 made their marks to this document instead of writing their names; not because they could not write their

names, I should think, for the first mark is that of John Wakeman, who was bailiff that year, and who certainly could write his name (for his signature exists), and against the mark the Town Clerk has written "Mr. Wakeman's marke." 2, is that of Richard Bennett, one of the council. 3. John Harding. 4. John Bartilmew, who was subsequently, in 1582 and 1595, a bailiff. 5. William Stepney, one of the council. 6. Thomas Harris, bailiff in 1581. 7. William Barnes, a councillor. 8. Walter Barrett, another of the council. 9. Thomas Skarlett. From the Assembly Books I add, 10. Christopher Haylett, who was bailiff in 1552. 11. William Denne, bailiff in 1553. 12. Richard Bunne, one of the council in 1553. 13. Nicholas Fen, bailiff, 1549 and 1563. 14. William Blyth. 15. Gregory Goose, bailiff, 1591. 16. Robert Ladde. 17. William Tanfield. 18. Edward Musgrave. 19. John Purfay, bailiff, 1561.

From a Seal in the Muniment-room at Stow Bardolph, appended to a deed of the 17th Richard II., I have taken the mark, 20, of Bartholomew Ellis, bailiff in 1391, 1396, 1402, 1405, 1414, 1417, and 1421. The mark, 21, of John Lucas, bailiff in 1636, is from one of the few deeds left among the Yarmouth Records, and dated 1631.

The three following marks are those of Herring Packers, which bear a great resemblance to those of the merchants, and are from the Assembly Books, where they were regularly registered yearly for many years: these are of the sixteenth century, and are, 22, John Cope, 1586. 23, John Smith, Jun., and, 23, Peter Bartilmew.

In the spandril of the arch of a bay window in the hall of a house in Middlegate, built about 1506, is the mark 25, which I have not been able yet to appropriate. The mark 28, is also still to be identified; it is from a tapestry hook on the "Ballast Keel" public-house on the quay.

In the Book of Entries are many foreign marks, principally of merchants of Brabant, about 1582; regularly cer-

tified by foreign notaries. 26, is that of Peter de la Pena, merchant in Brabant, and 27, of James, his brother. They bear a strong resemblance to those of our own country.

The early *Account Rolls* have suffered considerably. Many of those printed by Swinden are not now to be found; of those remaining my extracts are much too large to find a place here. I must, however, give one extract from the Chamberlain's Account, 32nd Henry VIII., relating to the efforts made to supply some source of entertainment for the people in place of the pageants and plays generally put down at the dissolution of the monasteries.

Compotus of William Stilyard, some time receiver of the money called the money gathered by the Christmas Lord, Richard Howe, and of the money given and paid by the 24 and 48, and by the whole town, about Midsomer night.

No arrears, because no account before this day.

Owing for money received from Richard Howe, some time le Christmes Lord 15^s.

And for money collected from the whole community towards Midsomer night 30^s. 8^d.

Sum, 45^s. 8^d.

Of which allowed for divers expences in the night of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 46^s. 8^d.

So surplus, 12^d.

This was the first and last appearance of the Christmas Lord in the accounts.*

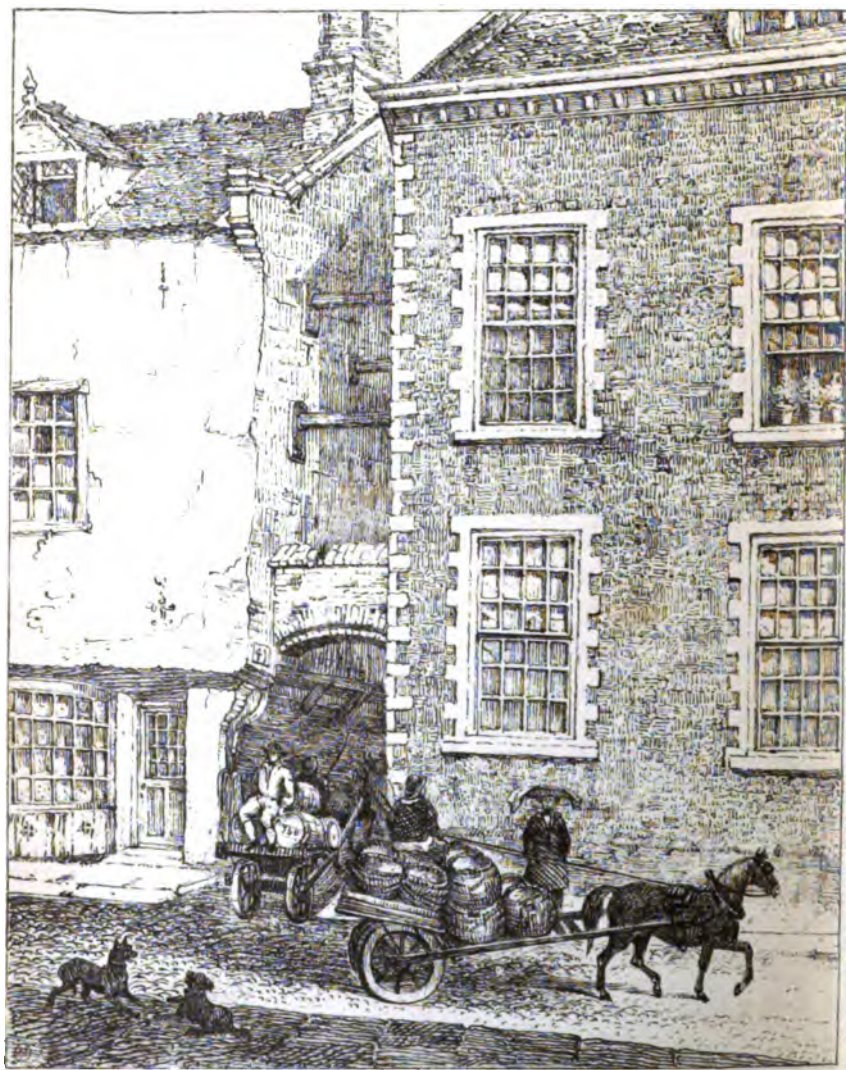
* *Machyn* has a notice of the Christmas Lord in London in 1551-2, which will show the kind of amusement afforded. "The 4th day of Januarii was made a great scaffold in Cheap hard by the Cross, against the King's Lord of Misrule coming from Greenwich; and landed at Tower Wharf, and with him young knights and gentlemen a great number on horseback, some in gowns and coats, and chains about their necks, every man having a baldrick of yellow and green about their necks; and on the Tower Hill there they

On what are called *Breviates of Returns*, are the Writs for Elections of Burgesses to Parliament together with the Return by the Bailiffs; but the manner in which the election was conducted is not recorded in the Return. In the Assembly Book of the 7th Edward VI. an election of Burgesses to Parliament is thus described: "For certain considerations, by the whole assembly, there were elected and chosen Christopher Heylott, Bayly, &c., six of the twenty-four, and six of the forty-eight, the which said twelve persons shall nominate, elect, and chose two Burgesses of the Parliament for this town. The which twelve persons, upon good and deliberate advice and consultation had together, have nominated, elected, and chosen Sir William Woodhous, Knight, and Nicholas Firmage, to be Burgesses of Parliament."

On looking over the numerous ordinances for regulating the markets and the general police of the town, I find that very much has been already printed by Swinden, Manship,

went in order, first a standard of yellow and green silk with St. George, and then guns, and squibs, and trumpets, and bagpipes, and 'drousselars,' and flutes; and then a great company all in yellow and green, and doctors declaring my lord great; and then the morris dance, dancing with a tabret, and afore twenty of his council on horseback, in gowns of 'chanabull' lined with white taffeta, and capes of the same, like sage men; then came my lord with a gown of gold, furred with furs of the goodliest colours, as every one saw; and then his * * * *; and after came half a hundred, in red and white, tall men of the guard, with hoods of the same colour, and came into the city; and after came a cart, the which carried the pillory, the * * *, the gibbet, the stocks, and at the cross in Cheap a great broad scaffold for to go up; then came up the trumpeter, the herald, and the doctor of the law, and there was a proclamation made of my lord's progeny, and of his great household that he kept, and of his dignity; and there was a hog'shead of wine at the scaffold, and there my lord drank, and his counsel, and had the head smitten out that everybody might drink, and [money?] cast about them; and after my lord's grace rode unto my Lord Mayor, and all his men to dinner, for there was dinner as you have seen; and after he took his horse and rode to my Lord Treasurer at Friars Austins, and so to Bishopgate, and so to Tower Wharf, and took barge to Greenwich."—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 13. I have not thought it necessary to retain the bad spelling of the original.





Drawn & Engr'd by J.W.S.

"TROLLY" CARTS, IN GEORGE ST. ST. YARMOUTH.

and our colleague, Mr. Palmer: I make one or two extracts. Here is the market regulation in the 5th Edward VI.

"It is fully condescended and agreed, that no inhabitant shall by no kind of thing brought to the markett before the markett bell be rong, [this bell was from St. Mary's Hospital, then fixed on the market cross] and that no person bringing any thing to markett to sell, shall not open either sakke, poke, pedde, mawnde, or any other vessell wherein his victualls or other things be, before the ringing of the said bell; and that none either by or sell, or procure to be bought or sold, any thing after the bell be rong at afternoon, but to tye up ther saks immediately, under pain of 12*d*."

My next extract from these ordinances establishes a fact about which there has been a good deal of discussion and great diversity of opinion. Every one acquainted with Yarmouth must know the long, low, narrow cart, drawn by a single horse, peculiar to that place, and which seems so extremely well adapted for threading the narrow rows of the town, into which no other vehicle larger than a wheelbarrow can penetrate. There seems, indeed, such a peculiar fitness in the one for the other, that the existence of the rows must have led to the invention of the carts. An opposite opinion, however, existed, and in the minds of very able men, and no record of their origin being believed to exist, the matter continued wrapped in mystery. Dr. Clarke declared them to be of decidedly Roman origin, and Mr. King, in his "*Munimenta Antiqua*," draws attention to their resemblance to the carts of South Wales, which he considered were of Ancient British origin.

The Book of Entries enables me to fix the date of their invention, and to restore to them their ancient name. In an ordinance of the 8th Henry VII., as to the curing and conveying of herring, it is stated, "That wher before this time, during the time of fishing, there was wont to resort to this town great numbers of porters, to carry herring, which porters brought the same herring into the barse

houses of the inhabitants, not only to the great ease of the same inhabitants, but also to the safeguard of the houses, rows, and swills of the town, *Till now of late* divers of the same inhabitants have devised carts, called *Harry Carries*, and the owners of the same, being called Harry Carmen, set such boys and girls to go with the same carts, which can neither guide the same carts, neither can yet remove such things wherewith the same carts are loaden, *no, not A SWILL*; not only to the great decay of the said houses, rows, and swills, but also to the great charges of the said inhabitants, in repairing of the said houses, rows, and swills. Wherefor be it ordained, that from henceforth every harry carry man, keeping a harry carry to get money by the same, shall keep to go with the same *one hable man*, which can both order his horse and the harry carry, and also is hable to lift the end of a swill being full of herring, and the same safely to bring whither he shall be appointed, upon payne that every man, having a harry carry as before it is said, and appoint any man to go with the same contrary to the meaning of this ordinance, and proved as before, shall forfeit for every time so offending *vj^s. viij^d.* to the towns use."

It follows from this entry, which appears from the handwriting to have been made at the time stated in the body of the ordinances, that these carts were devised early in the reign of Henry VII., and were originally called Harry Carries. There are frequent subsequent ordinances for the regulation of these harry carries, and numerous complaints against their drivers for damaging the streets, houses, rows, and trees.

In the Books of Ordinances and Assembly Books, are many orders and regulations for the dress and demeanour of the town magnates, from which a valuable hint or two might be gathered for Town Councils of the present day.

In the 33rd Henry VIII. it was agreed, "That the 24 and 48 should use in their apparel at every assembly, and on

Sundays and holidays, gowns and streight hoses, unless it be for sickness or other reasonable excuse. And that the Bailiffs, and all that had been Bailiffs, should use and wear in their apparel, on all principal feast days, gowns of scarlet furred with foynes, tippets and dublets of velvet, after the ancient and honorable custom of the town, under pain of 12*d.* for every time of breaking the ordinance by the 24, and every time of breaking the ordinance by the 48, sixpence."

Even in the Puritanical times, the gowns were dispensed with only on what were called the superstitious holidays.

There were some unruly spirits in those days, and ordinances like the following were constantly renewed:

"Att this assembly it was fully and wholly condescended and agreed, that no manner of person, being within the Common House at any assembly, being one of the same house, shall walk up and down or talk, the Bayliffs sitting, under pain of 12*d.* of every one of the 24, and 6*d.* of every one of the 48. And every one of the same house shall keep silence after *three knocks with the beetle*, under pain to lose 12*d.* every one that keepeth not silence, to be paid immediately to the use of the town." (37 Henry VIII.)

And that it was no joke to hold the office of Beetle-knocker, appears from the fact that one Nathaniel Cox was appointed in 1642 to knock the beetle for the ensuing year, if, "*upon trial, he be found fit for that office!*"

With all this strictness, however, there are by no means unfrequent cases like the following, which is of the time of Philip and Mary:

"Whereas John Echard, one of the 24, for his contempt and evil demeanour, in calling Mr. Bayly Oldryng and others of the King's and Queen's Justices of the Peace, thieves and false knaves; saying that they had stolen from him a crown of gold, and so, for his contempt, he was commanded to ward by the same Mr. Bayly Oldring. Therefore it is fully agreed that the said John Echard shall remain during the pleasure of Mr. Bailiff Oldring."

On another occasion, a man was discommoned because he attempted to *escape from prison*. John Alman was discommoned, "for that he being lately commanded to prison by the Bailiffs, hath departed himself and eloynd without the leave or commandment of the same Bailiffs."

In 21st Charles I., "unseemly words passed betwixt Mr. Green and Mr. Norgate, in heate of spirit, at which the house were much offended; they were censured to pay 20*s.* apiece, according to ancient ordinances, and having laid down the fines, afterwards upon the submission, they had their monies again."

It is pleasant to find, from entries like the following, that they were not unmindful of distress and misfortune. In 34th Henry VIII. we find that, "Forasmuch as Ralph Assheby, one of the 24, hath this year, by the visitation of God and chance of the sea, susteyned an extreme losse of his ship in Iselond: In consideration thereof, this present Assembly do grant that he the same Raff shall take all the profits of all the herings of his hosts now being coming in fishing, at any time within the space of three years next after this present day, to his own use, and the town to have no part of them. Provided always, that of all new hosts which the said Raff shall at any time hereafter reteyne and have within the said three years, the town to have the half according to the ordinances of the town."

Standing in curious contrast, is the following Order of Assembly many years after, when war was being waged ostensibly for the preservation of the liberty of the nation. On the 30th November, 1648, "Mr. Bayliffs and the Justices shall take orders as they shall think fit for clearing the town of all roguish boys and girls, wenches and fellowes, that cannot be brought to any orderly course of life, by sending them away to the Bermoodies, or such other new plantations."

They had gone to very arbitrary lengths some time before. At the Common Council, 5th May, 1638, "It is agreed upon and ordered, that the ordinance heretofore made that all the

Aldermen's Wyves shall were velvett hatts, shall from henceforth be utterly frustrated, made voyd, and revoked."

I should think so. I dare say the Aldermen's wives had "frustrated" it long before. It was all very well to regulate their own costume, but what a piece of madness to attempt to order that of the ladies!

The state of public opinion at Yarmouth, prior to the rebellion, is well known. There of course was a party in the town favourable to the King, but the large majority of the inhabitants and the most influential men of the place supported the opposite side. Their Recorder and representative in Parliament at that time was Corbet, one of the Regicides; and on the 5th February, 1648, is the following entry in the Assembly Book:

"Mr. Bailiffs acquainted the house that there was a Proclamation sent unto them from Mr. Corbett, forbidding any to proclaim Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, or any other, to be King of this Realme; and that there was another Acte sent them for altering the stiles of the Courts, both of which Actes were openly read at this Assembly."

And from that time they went on under the new order of things very quietly. There was more attention to public praying and preaching than before; and at the commencement of the Assembly Book is a prayer read at that time, before the commencement of business by the Assembly, of considerable merit as a composition, but of enormous length.

When Cromwell died, they hastened to tender allegiance to his son. At an Assembly on the 8th November, 1658, "These persons following are appointed to draw up a remonstrance to his highness the Lord Protector, and alsoe of their oweing this present government in his hands, and shewing their readiness to submit to his government; videlicet, the Justices, Mr. John Carter, Mr. William Burton, Mr. Isaac Preston, Mr. Thomas Bendish, Mr. John Alberton, Mr. William Emperor, Mr. James Symonds, Mr. Samuel

Shipdham, Mr. Thomas Bright, Mr. Samuel Bridgewell, and Mr. Huntingdon, or any seven of them, whereof Mr. Thomas Gooch, Mr. Thomas Bendish, Mr. Isaac Preston, and Mr. Samuel Shipdham to be fower, and to report the same to the house."

The address was sent, and matters went on much as usual until the Restoration. The behaviour of the Corporation of Yarmouth during the rebellion could not be overlooked, and a commission was issued in 1662, for displacing and placing Aldermen and Common Council-men, when all those obnoxious to the new order of things, who had not already retired from it, were removed, and their places supplied by those whose loyalty was more to be depended on; and I am surprised, the late Mr. Davey, who was so intimately acquainted with Yarmouth History, should have overlooked this fact, and have found it "difficult to conceive how, with any degree of sincerity, that body which could sanction the humiliating address to Richard Cromwell, printed by Swinden, should so speedily forego their republican principles as to adopt the sycophantic adulations of royalty with which the speech (of the Recorder to the King in 1671) abounds."* The reason is patent: all the republicans were ejected in 1662, and therefore neither the Corporation, who received Charles with that magniloquent address, nor the old republicans of the town, are fairly open to the charge of hypocrisy.

It will afford gratification to our Society to learn that the Corporation of Yarmouth have taken steps to preserve the valuable Collection of Rolls, which, after several narrow escapes from destruction, still exists; and that they have placed the Town Records in the charge of a Committee of the Council, including two such well-known archæologists as Mr. Charles Palmer and Mr. Francis Worship.

* Vol. II., p. 76.

Original Letters

OF

SIR EDWARD COKE & EDWARD LORD CROMWELL.

COMMUNICATED BY

G. A. CARTHEW, ESQ., F.S.A.

I AM permitted by our noble Vice-president, Lord Sondes, to communicate to the Society the following original letters, selected from the muniment-room at Elmham, which, although containing no matter of historical importance, may be considered of interest, in consequence of the great reputation of at least one of the correspondents. The subject of these letters may be better understood if I am allowed to introduce them by a few prefatory remarks.

The Manor and Park of North Elmham, itself formerly a Bishop's See, continued a possession of the Bishops of Norwich until the 27th year of Henry VIII., when that rapacious King compelled Richard Nix, the blind Bishop, to give it him in exchange. He then granted it to his minister, Thomas Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, whose fate is well known. The forfeiture of this property, however, was not involved in his fall. It descended to Edward Lord Cromwell, his great grandson, in 1592. This latter nobleman, we are informed by Sir H. Spelman,* wasted his inheritance. Having probably become desperate, he was induced to join the then Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, in his mad enterprise to coerce the Queen, and was involved in his friend's

* "Rex acceptum D. Cromwello contulit funestum donum."—"Securi enim hic adimitur, et effuso postea integro patrimonio, pronepos ejus D. Coke ipsum venundavit, ærumnarum satis exin conscio."—*Icenia*, 160.

ruin, suffering in consequence the fine and imprisonment al-
luded to in his letter subjoined. He had already incum-
bered the Elmham estate to a great extent, and on 21st Oct.,
1598, entered into an agreement with Edward Coke, of God-
wicke, Esq., then the Queen's attorney general, for its abso-
lute sale. His pressing difficulties are evident from the
number of his applications for small sums of money, and
authorizing payments to his creditors out of the purchase-
money before the conveyance was finally completed. In the
meantime his tenants at Elmham and Beteley took the advan-
tage to commit trespasses and assert claims without right or
title; and particularly one Mr. Taverner, a gentleman re-
siding at Elmham, who appears all along to have had a spite
against the Cromwell family, not only induced the copyhold
tenants to make a false presentment of the customs of the
manor, but, being himself a large copyhold tenant, pretended
that his lands had been enfranchised, so that at the time of
"Mr. Attorney's" purchase Lord Cromwell was also involved
in a multiplicity of law-suits. But when the great lawyer be-
came lord and master at Elmham, the tables were turned.
Mr. Taverner had consented to the submission of some points
at issue to Sir Robert Houghton, a learned lawyer, afterwards
a judge of the King's Bench, who decided against him. The
first of the following letters was written upon a copy of Sir
Robert's award, and is in Coke's own hand-writing. The
second was one addressed to Coke by the Lord Cromwell.
Fac-similes are given of both signatures.

G. A. C.

1 Maij, 1601.

Mr. Taverner,—Seing you have bene heard at large
before a grave and a learned man, who heard it by your owne
consent, and have ordered it vnder his hande. If nowe you
shall beginne to contende with me, (which never any man

yet did) and yet I challandg this to my selfe that never any man have done more for you than I have done, then you shall give me leave to take such a course with you as by lawe I may doe, and then you will repent your self, and I shall gaine by it. Yet for that I cannot be psuaded you will deal so perversly with me, I have sent this bearer, John Furnes and Rich Constable, my servants, to you for paym^t of the arerages of Rents, for pformance of this pvrchas in all things, and for suffering my poore tenants to live in quiet. . . . And if you shall refuse to this finall request, sure I am you shall repent it.

F. del. Joke

Mr. Attourney,

I cannot but acknowledge y^e Queene's great favor & grace extended towards me in pdoninge myne offences, so rashly comitted against her, & am much bownd unto yo^u for yo^r readynes to pleasure me in theise tymes of my troubles. Noxon hath byn wth me wth y^r letter wherin yo^u wryte vnto me to dischargd A judgement had against me by hym, whervnto y^e lande yo^u purchased of me is subject: for the dischargding wherof I am bownd to yo^u both by law, and honor: It is not alltogether unknowne to yo^u what great chardges & losses I have had by theise my late troubles, besydes y^e fyne imposed on me, and other hynderances I am like to susteyne by reason of her Ma^{ties} heavy countenance towards me, and my confyned imprisonment, wherby I am not able to mannage myne owne affaires for y^e suppliment of my p^rsent necessity: All w^{ch} disables me y^e dischargdeinge therof so speedely as I would. I have therfore taken this order wth noxon that if he will now lend me cc^{li} to supply my present wantes, he shall have y^e money due as well vppon y^e judge-

ment as y^e said 2 hundred pownds repaid hym, vppoⁿ y^e first money shall be paid vnto me vppoⁿ such surplisage as shall happen vppoⁿ y^e sale of y^t lande I have morgaged vnto y^e Queene for her fyne jposed on me, of w^{ch} course he well liketh and willingly would furnish me wth 2^o u, if by yo^u he might be assuered how such kynde of satisfaction might be made unto him: (Might I not further prevaile wth yo^u, as to sett down A course vnto hym, how of theise sumes he may be satisfied wth p^{te} of y^t surplesage shall arise vnto me, wherby my needfull tourne may now be releevd). I should thinck my self much bownde vnto yo^u, and rest ready to requite yo^r kyndnesses shewed vnto me, as God shall enable me: Thus hoping of yo^r favor herein, wth my most harty comendacōs comitt yo^u to God: This 2j August, 1601.

Yo^u^r most assueredly, to his power,

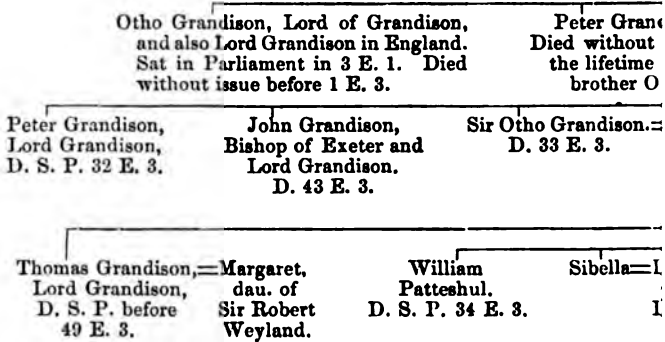


Postscript.

If I might fynde so much favor of yo^e as to give yo^r worde to Noxon y^t such manner of satisfaction shall be made vnto hym as before in my letter is expressed, yo^e shall have of me any warrant or assuerance yo^u cann devise, for y^e defaulting therof, vppoⁿ such money as shall come vnto me for y^t Lande.

To y^e right worshipful myne especiall good frend Edward Coke, esquire, her highnes at-tourney generall.





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OXBURGH HALL, NORFOLK.

OXBURGH HALL.

BY

THE REV. G. H. M'GILL.

IN offering a few observations to the members of the Society, on the castellated hall of the Bedingfelds at Oxburgh, it is not to be expected that much new matter will be added to that already to be found in the county histories. A conspicuous structure of this character, which has stood for more than 370 years, complete as at present in its chief features, must necessarily have attracted the attention of older and abler historians, and formed a fitting subject for their investigation. Blomefield has justly assigned in his work a prominent place to the Bedingfeld family and their ancestral residence; the magnificent turretted gateway on the North side of which has been drawn and engraved by Pugin in the first volume of his *Examples of Gothic Architecture*. But still the subject has not been altogether exhausted, and it is hoped that the following brief remarks may not be entirely devoid of interest to some of those who delight in anything that tends to illustrate the story of edifices, such as this at Oxburgh confessedly is.

The Parish, called in Domesday Book, "Oxenburgh," is a place of great antiquity, having fair pretensions to the dignity of a Roman station, coins and other reliques coeval with that period being found here. It was held by one of Cnute's chief leaders, Turketel the Dane, Earl of East Anglia, in the time of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1041.

When William the Conqueror came to the throne, he gave the manor to Radulphus de Limesio, the son of his sister, with forty other manors in various counties. The size at that time was one mile long and half a mile broad, "*habet in longo I. et dim. in lato.*" It paid 11*d.* Danegelt, and was valued at 100*s.* per annum.

After Radulphus de Limesio and his descendants, it came early in the reign of Edward I. to the Weylands, to one of whom, Nicholas de Weyland, Edward, in the 13th year of his reign, made the following grant of a market, on the 12th May, A. D. 1285.

"Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Aquitanæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, vice Comitibus, Prepositis, ministris et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse, dilecto et fideli nostro Nicholas de Weyland, quod ipse et heredes sui in perpetuum habeant unum mercatum singulis septimanis, per diem Veneris, apud Manerium suum de Sheppedene in comitatu Norfolcensi; et unam feriam ibidem, singulis annis, per octo dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia, et in die, et in crastino festi Translationis Sancti Edwardi, et per quinque dies sequentes. Et unam aliam feriam, singulis annis, per duos dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia, et in die Festi Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, apud manerium suum de Oxeburgh in comitatu predicto. Et unam aliam feriam similem ibidem, singulis annis, per octo dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia, et in die, et in crastino festi Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, et per quinque dies sequentes. Nisi mercatum illud et feriæ illæ sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinarum feriarum. Concessimus etiam prefato Nicholao, quod ipse et heredes sui in perpetuum habeant liberam Warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis maneriorum predictorum, et in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Charffend et Westerfend in comitatu Suffolcensi; Dum tamen terræ illæ non sint intra

metas forestæ nostræ. Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis, vel ad aliquid capiendum, quod ad Warennam pertineat, sine licentia et voluntate ipsius Nicholai vel heredum suorum, super forrfituram nostram decem librarum. Quare volumus, et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod predictus Nicholaus et heredes sui in perpetuum habeant predicta mercatum et ferias apud maneria sua predicta de Sheppedene et Oxeburgh, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi mercatum et ferias pertinentibus. Nisi mercatum illud et feriæ illæ sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinorum feriarum. Et quod in perpetuum habeant liberam Warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis predictis. Dum tamen terræ illæ non sint intra metas forestæ nostræ. Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis, vel ad aliquid capiendum, quod ad Warennam pertineat, sine licentia et voluntate ipsius Nicholai vel heredum suorum, super forrfituram nostram decem librarum, sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus; venerabilibus Patribus Bathonensis et Wellensis et Dunelmensis episcopis. Edmundo fratre nostro. Edmundo Comite Cornubiæ. Gilberto de Clare Comite Gloucestrensi et Hertfordensi. Rogero Bigod Comite Norfolcensi et Mariscallo Angliæ. Henrico de Lacy Comite Lincolnensi. Johanne de Warrenna Comite Surriensi. Johanne de Vesci, Reginaldo de Grei, Roberto filio Johannis et aliis.

“Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Maii anno regni nostri tertio decimo.”

It is worthy of observation that the names appended to this deed comprised those of the most eminent of the great barons of the period. “Edmund our Brother” was the Earl of Lancaster, who married the Queen of Navarre, and vanquished the French at Bordeaux. Hume says that “he was afterwards seized with a distemper, of which he died, at Bayonne, in 1296.” Roger Bigod was that Earl Marshal who refused to the king’s face to lead the troops in Gascony.

John de Warennia with 12,000 soldiers took Dunbar Castle from the Scots, and was made governor of Scotland. It was he who, on being required to show to the king's commissioners the title to his estates, drew his sword, and added that "William the Bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone: his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise; and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family." The "Gilbert de Clare," Earl of Gloucester, was the greatest baron of the kingdom, having married the daughter of Edward I. He had commanded a body of troops at the battle of Lewes, and taken Henry III. prisoner; but afterwards had assisted Edward to escape from Simon de Montford, and stood, consequently, very high in the king's esteem. His son was killed at the battle of Bannockburn. Reginald de Grei was tutor to the Prince of Wales. Thus we have affixed to this ancient document the royal seal, still perfect, and the signatures of the greatest men of the age.

After the Weylands, the Manor of Oxburgh descended by the female line to Sir Thomas Tudenham, about the year 1427, the fifth year of Henry VI. This Sir Thomas was born in 1399. The hundred of South Greenhoe was granted to him in the 33rd year of Henry VI.; and on his death, in 1461, came to the Bedingfelds. Tudenham was beheaded on Tower Hill, February 22, 1461, on suspicion of having received letters from Margaret the wife of Henry VI. He was tried in the Court of the Constable of England, to whom were given powers totally inconsistent with Magna Charta, and was condemned with Sir William Tyrrel and John Montgomery. John, Earl of Oxford, and Aubrey de Vere, his son, were found guilty by the same arbitrary martial court, and executed. The patent granted to the Earl of Rivers, quoted in Spelman's *Glossary* under the word "Constabularius," proves the unconstitutional character of the tribunal. The following clause will suffice:—

“ Et ulterius, de uberiori gratia nostra, eidem comiti de Rivers plenam potestatem damus ad cognoscendum et procedendum, in omnibus et singulis causis et negotiis, de et super crimine læsæ majestatis, seu super occasione cæterisque causis quibuscunque, per præfatum comitem de Rivers, ut constabularium Angliæ, quæ in curia constabularii Angliæ ab antiquo, viz. tempore dicti domini Gulielmi conquestoris, seu aliquo tempore citra tractari audiri, examinari, aut decidi consueverant, aut jure debuerant, aut debent, causasque et negotia prædicta cum omnibus et singulis emergentibus, incidentibus et connexis, audiendum, examinandum, et fine debito terminandum, etiam summarie et de plano *sine strepitu et figura justitiæ*, sola facti veritate inspecta, ac etiam manu regia, si opportunum visum fuerit eidem comiti de Rivers, vices nostras, *appellatione remota*.”

It is evident that such powers as these, confided to any individual without appeal, are destructive of all true liberty. The office was abrogated by Henry VIII. Hume states that the lands and manors of Tudenham were forfeited to the crown; Blomefield says that he left them to his sister Margaret, relict of Edmund Bedingfeld, Esq., of Bedingfeld in Suffolk. They may probably have been granted to her after the forfeiture, as the Yorkist party, who put Sir Thomas to death, very shortly after, with their King Edward IV., were expelled from power by the Lancastrians. Be this as it may, the grandson of this Margaret, Edmund Bedingfeld, was the builder of the present hall at Oxburgh. Edward IV., who in the first year of his reign executed the great uncle, in the last year of it, 1482, granted permission to the great nephew, Edmund Bedingfeld, Esq., not at that time “ Sir Edmund,” as stated by Blomefield, (though knighted the following year at the coronation of Richard III.) to build the walls, towers, &c. around his manor at Oxburgh, which at present exist. The following translation of this important deed may not be uninteresting :—

“ Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, health. Know ye that we, regarding with our special favour the good and gratuitous services which our beloved servant, Edmund Bedingfeld, Esq., has in various ways before these times performed for us, and every day ceases not deservedly to perform, have granted and given license, and by these presents do grant and give license, for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to the aforesaid Edmund, that he according to his own pleasure and will may build, make, and construct walls and towers, with stone, lime, and gravel, around and below his manor of Oxburgh, in the county of Norfolk, and enclose that manor with walls and towers of this kind; also embattle, kernellate, and machecollate those walls and towers; and that manor so enclosed and the walls and towers aforesaid so embattled, kernellated and machecollated, built and constructed, he may hold for himself and his heirs for ever, without disturbance, force, molestation, impediment, or grudging from us or our heirs, or any other whatsoever. And, moreover, of our abundant grace, we have pardoned, remitted, and relaxed to the aforesaid Edmund all transgressions, offences, misprisions, and contempts of every kind by the same Edmund, on the occasion of the enclosing of the walls and towers aforesaid, so embattled, kernellated and machecollated, built and constructed in and above the manor aforesaid, before these times in any way done or perpetrated. And further, of our more abundant grace, we have granted and given license, and by these presents do grant and give license, for ourselves and our heirs aforesaid, to the aforesaid Edmund, that he and his heirs aforesaid for ever may have and hold one market each week, on Friday, in his town of Oxburgh aforesaid, to be held together with a Court of Piepoudre, at the same place, by the seneschal of Edmund himself and his heirs aforesaid, to be held while the same market continues; with all the demands, profits, and amercements

belonging to a market and court of the kind, and with all the tolls, profits, and emoluments pertaining and belonging in any manner to a market of this sort; provided that the market may not be to the injury of the neighbouring markets. Wherefore we will and firmly command, for us and our heirs aforesaid, that the aforesaid Edmund and his heirs aforesaid may have and hold the market and court aforesaid, and the other things allowed at his town aforesaid, in the form aforesaid; and with all the liberties and free customs belonging to a market and court of this kind; provided that market be not to the injury of the neighbouring markets; as is aforesaid, for ever. Because express mention concerning the true annual value of these permissions, or any of them, or other gifts or grants to the same Edmund made before these times by us, or made by these presents, does not exist; any statute, act, or ordinance made, published, or commanded, to the contrary notwithstanding.

' "In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made, myself being witness at Westminster, the third day of July, in the twenty-second year of our reign."

In the foregoing deed there are several expressions used, of which the general reader may require an explanation. To "kernellate" or "crenellate" (the more common form of the word) is to make loopholes or openings in walls, through which arrows or other missiles may be discharged. To "machecollate" is to set out the parapet on the top of a castle on corbels, so as to project from the face of the wall, the intervals between the corbels being left open to allow of missiles being thrown on the heads of assailants. The gateway tower at Oxburgh affords perfect examples of both these defences. The Court of Pie-poudre—in the original, "*pedis pulverizati*"—is the most expeditious court of justice known in England. It is a court of record incident to all fairs and markets, and of which the Steward of the Manor is the judge. It was instituted to administer justice for all com-

mercial injuries done in that very fair or market, and not in any preceding one, so that the wrong must be done, complained of, heard, and determined within the compass of the same day, unless the fair continued for a longer time. The word itself in its literal meaning shows this, being Norman-French of Latin derivation, signifying "dusty feet."

This important and interesting document, together with the earlier grant to the Tudenhams, was exhibited at the Lynn Meeting of the Society by Sir H. P. Bedingfeld, the present representative of the family. With such a deed thus existing, in a perfect state of preservation, there cannot be the least doubt as to the date at which the hall was erected; and they who take an interest in architecture are fully aware of the great value of such evidence. For the architects of the middle ages introduced at such periods peculiarities so striking, that if the date of one specimen be correctly ascertained, it amounts to a moral certainty that other buildings having the like peculiarities are coeval with it.

The building is surrounded by a moat, supplied from a rivulet which runs through it. This moat is about fifty feet broad, and can be filled to a depth of ten feet. A modern bridge of three arches crosses the moat to the entrance-tower on the North side. Formerly there was a drawbridge here; but no remains of a portcullis or any other traces of it now exist. The form of the mansion was quadrangular; not quite, but very nearly, square. The external appearance is very imposing; the length from East to West being 174 feet, and from North to South, 171 feet. The entrance-tower is very massive and beautiful, being in a perfect state of preservation: it is built of brick, like the rest of the hall, and rises to a height of eighty feet, having two octangular turrets, one on either side of the archway. The inner court, round which the house is built, is 118 feet from North to South, and 92 feet from East to West. Unfortunately, the great banquetting-room, which stood on the South side, and is spoken





KING'S ROOM, OXBURGH HALL.

of by Blomefield as one of the best old Gothic halls in England, was taken down in 1778, and has left a gap in the Southern side of the edifice much to be deplored. This room is stated by Pugin to have been "56 feet long and 29 broad, covered with an arched roof of timber, and furnished with two oriels or bay windows at the upper end, and a screen at the lower, in the usual fashion of the dining halls of those times." In consequence of the removal of this and other rooms on the South side, the building now forms three sides of a quadrangle; having on the North, the entrance-tower, the porter's lodge (which has a vaulted brick roof and loopholes, very curious), and a modernized dining room; on the West, the library and saloon, with its ante-room; and on the East, the various offices attached to such a house.

Over the gateway is the "King's Room," which will be found, next to the general external view of the hall, the part most interesting to the historian and the antiquary. Its size is about 33 feet long, by 20 feet broad. The walls are covered with beautifully-wrought tapestry of the time of Henry VII. The figures in the tapestry are particularly striking; and though the subjects are not capable of exact ascertainment, yet they well deserve a careful examination. In one compartment, the figures appear to be those of a king and an ecclesiastic, the latter in the act of blessing the former. The chief figure on the North side of the room is that of a lady surrounded by a group of persons. There is not any tradition in the family as to the meaning of these representations, though the tapestry itself and the bed which is in the same room are heirlooms, and descend with the hall. It is stated that there is some tapestry of a similar character in the Town Hall at Coventry. The King's Room derives its appellation from the fact of its having been used as the sleeping-room of King Henry VII., when he was a guest at Oxburgh. This king paid a royal visit to Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, the builder of the hall, and for his eminent ser-

vices rewarded him with several valuable lordships in Yorkshire, forfeited to the crown on the attainder of Lord Lovel. Hume states that Henry VII., in the year 1487, "to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, made a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles, and there offered up prayers for success and for deliverance from his enemies:" success, that is, against Lambert Simnel and his followers, who were endeavouring at that time to seize the crown. It was very probably on this occasion that Henry visited Oxburgh, and granted the forfeited Lovel estates to its owner, Lovel having escaped into Flanders in 1486, the year immediately previous. Here then we have the identical room in which Henry VII. lodged in the latter part of the fifteenth century: its walls covered with the same tapestry, its general appearance the same. Well does Pugin denominate it an "interesting room."

The coverlet and curtains of the bed are very curious. They are formed of green velvet and gold thread, and are covered with various devices: beasts and birds of all kinds, with the names to each, "a swalloe," "a leparde," "the'estrich," for "the ostrich," and so on. These devices are the joint productions of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots and the Countess of Shrewsbury, wife of her jailer, while she was in England. They bear the initials of the ill-fated queen, M. S., for Mary Stuart; and the name of the Countess, with that of her husband, "George & Elizabeth Shrewesburye." It is not known when or how these curious relics came into their present place. Mary Queen of Scots was never at Oxburgh, though Elizabeth, her cousin, the Queen of England, visited the hall, and lodged in the apartment immediately above the King's Room. No surprise need be felt that such labours should have occupied some of the attention of one who, though only in her 45th year when she was put to death, had passed nineteen of those years in captivity in England, beside the period during which she was imprisoned in her

own dominions. Nor can we gaze upon a work which must have whiled away many days of her life, without paying a tribute to the depth of her misfortunes, or feeling a compassionate regret for the cruel death which terminated her sorrows. The life of Mary Stuart was a signal instance of the vicissitudes attached to earthly greatness. A queen almost at her birth; at nineteen the widow of a French king, Francis II.; the mother of the house of Stuart; and in the prime of life the victim of the executioner. What a chequered existence was that of this ill-fated queen!

The Countess of Shrewsbury, who assisted in the working of this coverlet and curtains at Oxburgh, was the daughter of Mr. Hardwicke, of Hardwicke in Derbyshire. She was a person of great energy of character, and was a great favourite with Mary, till jealousy of her husband, the Earl, from whom she afterwards obtained a separation, estranged them from each other. This Elizabeth Hardwicke was married four times: first, to a Mr. Bailey; then to one of the Cavendishes; then to Sir William St. Lowe, and, lastly, to the Earl of Shrewsbury. She built Hardwicke Hall shortly after the execution of Mary, and also Chatsworth, the princely seat of the Duke of Devonshire. A prediction respecting her was to this effect: "that she would die as soon as she ceased to build;" and so she continued building house after house, till at last she died in a long frost, when the builders were not able to continue their labours.

There is little doubt but that the scandal told to Mary respecting Queen Elizabeth by this lady, and afterwards communicated to Elizabeth, was one of the causes which led to Mary's execution. Hume gives the details of this communication, vide note 4, I., p. 500. The letter was written by Mary just before the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, in which she was accused of being implicated; and it no doubt contributed to render the measures taken against her more rigorous than otherwise they might have been.

When Elizabeth, in 1578, made a progress into Norfolk, Oxburgh is stated to have been one of the places visited by her. The route given in Blomefield is well known. She came from Mr. Sydney's, at Walsingham, to Sir Henry Beddingfeld's, at Oxburgh, thence she proceeded to Bradenham, to Wood Rising, and Kenynghall. The arms of the Beddingfelds are among those of the noblemen and gentry who attended Queen Elizabeth in this progress.

The next most interesting epoch in the history of Oxburgh is that of the Great Rebellion, when this and many other large and important estates were seized upon by the illegal rapacity of Cromwell and the Parliament which unscrupulously performed his bidding. Blomefield states that Oxburgh has been in the possession of the family for about 500 years without any alienation; but, it is very evident, by the deed from which the following extracts are taken, that the learned and usually accurate historian was mistaken on this point. Our Society is indebted to Sir H. P. Beddingfeld, the present Baronet, for the extracts which place this matter in its true light.

"This Indenture made the 23rd day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1652, between William Skinner, Wm. Robinson, Sam. Cook, H. Sealy, Wm. Lister, A. Gamwell, Esquires, surviving trustees, nominated and appointed in and by an Act of Parliament, entitled 'An Act for the Sale of several Lands and Estates forfeited to the Commonwealth for Treason,' and M. Valentine, Esq., one other of the trustees for the sale of the said lands, appointed by another Act of Parliament in that behalf, on the one part; and William Holcroft, of Lowlighton, in the county of Essex, Gent., and Jeffry Northleigh, of London, Esq., of the other part, witnesseth; that the said Wm. Skinner, Robinson, &c. &c., who, or any five of whom, are by the said acts authorized and empowered to treat, contract, and make sale of the said estates, in such sort as in the said acts is mentioned. In

obedience to the said act, and by virtue thereof, and in execution of the power and trust thereby committed to them, the said W. Skinner, &c., &c., aforesaid, and for and in consideration of the sum of £9977. 18s. 8½d., of lawful money, have granted, bargained, sold, assigned, and confirmed, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, assign, and confirm unto the said William Holcroft and Jeffry Northleigh, their heirs and assigns, all that the manor of Oxburgh, with all and singular the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, lying in the county of Norfolk, and also all that capital messuage, or manor house, with the appurtenances, situate and being in the parish of Oxburgh, being large, square, and moated about; one wash-house, one slaughter-house, one bake-house, one brew-house, and one malting-house, with a kiln thereunto, being all under one roof, one large stable having several divisions, with a granary over the same," &c. &c.

The deed then describes all the lands in the parishes of Oxburgh, Caldecot, Shingham, Hugelford, Swanton Morley, Necton, Cley, Pickenham, Igburgh, Ashill, &c., &c., and winds up thus:

"And also all houses, out-houses, edifices, buildings, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, court-yards, ways, roads, water-courses, mills, woods, underwoods, timber trees, waste grounds, commons of pasture and turberie, liberties, privileges, immunities, profits, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever; and also all the estate, right, title, interest, freehold possession, claims or demands whatsoever of them the said W. Skinner, Robinson, Cook, &c., &c., of, in, and to the above bargained premises, and every or any part thereof; which said premises with the appurtenances were late *parcel* of the freehold and possessions of Sir H. Bedingfeld, one of the persons in the said act named, whose estate has been and is hereby adjudged and declared to be justly forfeited by him for his treason against the parliament and people of England."

The glebe and tithes are then excepted from the sale.

The deed then "conveys all the above-mentioned lands, houses, &c., to William Holcroft and Jeoffry Northleigh, their heirs and assigns, for and during the term of the natural life of Sir H. Bedingfeld, free from all incumbrances, demands, &c., save and except an annuity of £550., to be paid to Thomas Bedingfeld, son of Sir H. Bedingfeld, during the term of the natural life of his father, which annuity is hereby settled upon the manor of Necton and the lands thereunto belonging."

Here follow the signatures of the Commissioners.

The above quotations require no comment. They show incontestably that the ancient family were driven from their house and suffered the loss of all their vast possessions in consequence of their loyalty to the martyred King of England.

At the Restoration, Oxburgh and some other portions of their numerous manors were re-purchased by the surviving branches of the Bedingfelds, and have continued in the family to the present time. The East wing of the hall was very much injured by fire, but the date of the occurrence is not accurately ascertained.

The following list of Papers in Sir H. P. Bedingfeld's collection may not be unacceptable to the Members of the Society, as they refer to one of the most important eras of English History, and would be a valuable contribution to the County Records, if their owner, who has kindly furnished the list, would at some future time allow them to be published in full in the Transactions of the Society.

LIST OF PAPERS IN SIR H. BEDINGFELD'S COLLECTION.

Letter from Henry VIII. to Grace Lady Bedingfeld concerning the burial of Catharine of Arragon, in which he speaks of her as his dear sister, the widow of his brother, Prince Arthur.

Foundation of the Chauntry at Oxburgh.

Queen Mary's Warrant, creating Sir H. Bedingfeld Governor of the Tower.

Letter from Queen Mary to Sir H. B., with Seal perfect.

Order signed by Philip and Mary to Sir H. B. and others to erect beacons, and fortify the Coast of Norfolk against the attack of the French.

List of the Names of such of the County of Norfolk as lent money to Queen Mary, and the amounts lent by each.

Letter to Sir H. B. from Queen Elizabeth, dated "Oxford."

Queen Elizabeth's Progress into Norfolk, "the original of the paper in Blomefield."

A Bill of the Arms and Weapons in the armoury at Oxburgh. (No date.)

Proclamation of Queen Mary from Kenninghall, with her signature.

Order signed by Philip and Mary for Sir H. B. and others to appear at Ipswich with their retainers, on a given day, to embark for the French wars.

Prayer for Queen Mary, by the Bishop of London.

Two Letters to the unfortunate Earl of Surrey from Wm. Paget.

About fifty letters from the Privy Council to Sir H. B. whilst Governor of the Tower, on various matters: amongst others, as to the putting to the torture, the execution, and reprieve of different political prisoners.



ON THE RIGHT OF WARDSHIP
AND THE
CEREMONY OF HOMAGE & FEALTY IN THE FEUDAL TIMES.

BY
G. A. CARTHEW, ESQ., F.S.A.

I some time since read before the Committee two or three excerpts from an old Court Book of the Manor of Rowdham in Shropham Hundred, and was requested to give the Society a copy of them as illustrative of the manners and customs of the period. With this request I have now the pleasure to comply, with the addition of a few prefatory observations.

It is well known to all who have any acquaintance with our early institutions, that before the Great Rebellion all the land in this country was parcel of some manor, and that the greater part of it was held by military tenure or knight-service, either of the crown or of some intermediate tenant who held of the crown. Each successive holder of such lands was bound to take an oath of fealty or profession of faith to his superior lord, and also to perform *homage*, a ceremony which Blackstone describes as “openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered, and holding up his hands both together between those of the lord, who sate before him, and then professing that he did become his *man* from that day forth of life and limb and worldly honour,” and then he received a kiss from the lord. Such tenant was also bound, in recompense for the land he held, not only to attend his lord to

the field, accompanied by a force commensurate with the extent of his holding, but in time of peace to do *suit* at his court: if a tenant of the king, to attend his High Court of Parliament; if of a subject, to attend his Court Baron or Manor Court. Besides other burthens to which this tenure was subject, were what were called *Reliefs*, which were fines payable to the lord by an heir on taking up the land after the death of the last tenant. This, however, was not payable unless and until the heir was of full age. If he were under age, the lord was entitled to his guardianship or wardship, which consisted in having the custody of the body and lands for his own profit during the minority, and not only that, but the right of disposing of him in marriage. This perquisite was made a source of great profit, as the lord was at liberty to sell the marriage of his ward. The custom is very happily referred to by our learned Vice-president, Mr. Turner, in a late number of our Papers* in allusion to the expression of buying a ward for her son, contained in Margaret Paston's will. When the heir came of full age he was obliged, if his lands were of sufficient extent and held of the king, to take upon himself the honour of knighthood, and in no case was he entitled to have possession or *livery* of his patrimony until he had taken the Oath of Fealty, performed his homage, and paid his fine or relief. These consequences form the subject of the present communication.

The Manor of Rowdham was part of the possessions of the Priory of Westacre; and in the 26th Henry VI. I find that the demesne lands, with all the rents and services (from which wardships and marriages and the advowson of the church were expressly excepted), were held under lease from the prior for the term of five years, by one William Payne, at the annual rent of £8. 10s. This William Payne held a considerable freehold estate of this manor by the tenure of knight-service. His death was found in the 7th Edward IV.,

* Vol. III., p. 171, n. 66.

and William Payne, his eldest son and next heir also dying, was succeeded by Peter Payne, the next son, whose death was also found in the 20th Henry VII. In that year, it is recorded in Latin on the Court Rolls, that William Payne, son and heir of Peter Payne, attended a court held at Rowdham on Friday next after the Feast of St. Edmund the Martyr (Nov. 20, 1505), in his own proper person, before Mr. Thomas Clerke, Prior of Westacre, the lord of the manor, Will. Syre, the steward of the manor, and the tenants there, and acknowledged to hold of the Lord Prior certain freehold messuages, lands, &c., by knight-service.

In a subsequent entry it is mentioned that William Payne died in the 2nd Henry VIII., and that he held on the day of his death divers freehold lands and tenements by knight-service of that manor, and that John Payne, his eldest son and next heir, was of the age of four years and upwards, and the lord being then and there present, took the said John Payne as his ward, &c.

John Payne attained his age of twenty-one years sometime in the 19th year of Henry VIII., and appears to have considered that he was entitled to the possession of his estates without the necessity of complying with the legal requisites, and that he was justified in using forcible means; for at a court held on Saturday, on the Feast of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, in the 22nd year of that monarch, a presentment was made by the jurors there that, on a certain day, which is illegible, John Parishe, William Whitlow, John Cok, John Wetyng, John Watts, Thomas Lely, Thomas Chamber, being copyhold tenants of the manor, together with Lawrence Gascony, and other evil-doers and disturbers of the peace of our Lord the King, with force and arms, viz., (*baculis, gladiis, fustibus, & la pycheforks,*) with sticks, swords, clubs, and pitchforks, the house and freesoil of the lord of this manor . . . broke and entered; viz., upon a garden (*ortum*) of the lord of the said manor

in *Rougdam*, and a seal (*ceram*) upon the door of the said house affixed; under pretext whereof, John Payne, Gent., together with Thomas Bell, were put in possession in the said manor, viz., in one granary (*oreo*) of the said manor. And, moreover, that by the aiding and abetting (*supportaco'em et confortaco'em*) of the said John, Will., John, John, John, Thos. and Thos. Chamber, and Lawrence Gascony and others, these same John Payne and Tho. Bell made assault and affray upon William Wyngfield, Prior of Westacre, lord of that manor, and with a sword held in the hand of the said John Payne then and there struck the said Prior, so that his life and mutilation of his limbs were almost despaired of, and others, servants of the said Prior, of their lives then and there were likewise despaired of, against the peace of our Lord the King, and to the bad example of others, &c.

The same presentment was made at two subsequent courts; but afterwards, at a court held for the purpose in the 25th year of the same reign, John Payne, having been better advised, appeared and did his homage. A cotemporary minute, in English, descriptive of these transactions, is written in the Court Book, transcribed literatim as follows:—

“Fyrst yt ys to be knowen, y^t ye Pryowre & covent of Westakere had a lordshyp in Rowdhm̄, & therto apperteynyd a coorte w^t dyvers tenaunts, both fre & copy, and also y^e patronage & parsonage impropyed, & also y^e gefte of y^e vykerage; Also y^e seyde pryoure & covent had ther dyvers aryable londs w^t a sheeps coors. Second, yt ys to be knowne, y^t y^e howse callyd Paynce, w^t y^e londs ther to pteynyng in Rowdhm̄ holdyth of y^e seyde Westaker Maner, & y^t be Knyghts s'rvece, as ytt aperyth both by sealyd evydence & also by coorte rowles; and in y^e thryde yere of Kynge Henry y^e viij^t, on Payn deputed, and lefte hys sonne, a yonge chyld in ye cradyll, whych was ye last Payn, & y^e yonge chyld was takyne ward, and so by y^e Pryours s'vants & hys noors browhgt to Westaker, and ther

was keptyd in y^e *Deyhouse** sztene weeks, tyll hys mother came & bowght hys nonage & hys maryage of y^e pryoure and covent of Westakere, ye pryour then beinge callyd Mast^r Thom^s Clerk, bachelor in Devynyte; and when y^e seyde yonge Payne was come to hys full age, and hys mother y^e wyffe of S^r Wyllm Peñyg, Knyghte, deptyd, y^e seyde yong Payne at y^e entrynge of hys londs, denyed hys feawte and omage & paying of hys Knyghts fee, whervpon by lernyd councell, on Mast^r Wyngfylde then being Pryoure of Westaker, & John Clere, Sellerere, & Ambrose Potter then being Steward, keptyd a sett coorte for y^e same purpose, & ther y^e omage by y^e Records of y^e lord's evydence, y^e coorte rowles, & ther owne knolege, fownde be verdyct y^t y^e seyde payne held al y^t he had in Rowdhm be feawte, omage, & knyghts s'rvece, of y^e lordshepe of Westaker; & then y^e seyde Payne came to y^e seyde coorte, w^t spoors on hys heels, & kneelyng, layd hys hands betwext y^e hands of y^e pryour & prayd to be admyttyd his Tenant, and knolegyd y^t he helde of Westakere manere by y^t omage of Knyghts s'rvece, & so agreeede to pay y^e ffyne theroff, a hundred;† and so he was admyttyd for a tenaunte, wher^{yf} yf he had denyed, so be lernyd councell, al y^t he held in Rowdhm had been seased at y^e same coorte to y^e pryowre of Westaker, then lord of maner."

It would appear from Blomefield, that the mother of John Payne, after her widowhood, first became the wife of William Rammesbury, Esq., who died in 1515, having given to Elizabeth his wife the wardship of John Payne her son and Catherine Payne her daughter, which he lately bought of Thomas Clerk, Prior of Westacre. In 1526 I find from the Court Rolls that she was the wife of Sir William Penyngton.

* The dairy-house, probably the dwelling-house of the *Deye* or farm servant, who had the charge of the dairy belonging to the monastery.

† Pounds, marks, or shillings?

I do not learn the family name of the lady whom she selected for her son's wife, and he did not survive many years; as, at a court holden as usual on St. Edmund's day in 1537, his death was presented by the homage; also that he held by knight-service; that his annual rent was 28s., 1½ lb. of pepper, and 8 lbs. of cummin; and that Alice, late wife of John Payn, held, together with her late husband, an estate in the lands for her life, and she had till the next court given her to exhibit her feoffment. The homage also said that John died without heirs of his body.

There was another manor in Rowdham, called Newhall alias Trussebutts, whereof the Paynes had the lordship; and the Court Books of this manor show that Alice, the widow of John, re-married one Dereslie, and that on her death, 23rd Eliz., Katherine, the only sister and heir of John, then the widow of Brian Holland, Esq., ancestor of the Hollands of Quidenham, succeeded to the inheritance.

INDEX TO THE HARLEIAN MS.

Cod. 1109.

(Continued from Vol. III., p. 51.)

NORFOLK FAMILIES ENTITLED TO BEAR ARMS.

Dawbeny	Fol. 1, 12	Doggett	15	Fincham	5
Dalton	2	Digby	15	Fitzlewes	6
Druell	2	Dixon	16	Flicham	5
Dengaine	2, 4, 7, 9	Dovington	17	Fermer	7
Dagworth	3, 5			Freeman	7
Downes	3, 4, 14	Elman	1	Freake	7
Derlington	4	Ellis	3	Fitzcoates	7
Denson	4	Erpingham	3, 6	Flint	8
Dereham	5, 14	Ellingham	4, 6	Flowerdew	9
Danver	5	Everard	5, 10, 10		
Danyet	5	Elwine	5	Gigs	1
Drewe	5	Elswicke	6	Gawdy	1, 10
Druwarde	6	Ermingland	8	Gerbridge, 2, 3, 7, 15	
Delahall	6	Ensinge	14	Goosse	2, 10
Disney	6			Gynny	3
Davillers	6	Felbrigg	2	Goldingham	4, 11
Davy	7	Froxmer	2	Gawsell	4, 6, 9
De la rockley	7	Fountayne	2, 14	Goldston	4
Duck	8	Falstolphe	2, 7	Godsalve	4
Dodge	8, 12	Filby	3	Gissinge	4
Damme	8	Fulmerston	3	Graye	4, 10, 13
Daventre	8	Fitzwith	3	Gillers	5
Denny	10	Francys	4	Goddarde	5
Daves	11	Fulmar	4	Goldwell	5, 7
Dethick	12	Farly	4	Greenwaye	7
Dynne	13	Fitzosbert	4, 7	Granson	8
Dixe	13	Fitzwater	4, 7	Grise	9
Drury	13	Fitzrafe	4, 5	Gurney	2, 10
Dade	13	Foules	5	Greene	10, 11

Gillet	10	Hawe	13	Linsey	16
Gascoigne	12	Harvey	14	Laver	9
Gresham	16	Hunt	14	London	17
Gibson	9	Hart	14	Loveday	9
Gleane	17	Hillary	16		
Gross	17	Hewar	16	Morley	1
Groyne	17	Hanam	17, 8	Mawtby	2
Godbolte	18	Hollis	17	Meares	2
		Herborne	9	Mortimer	4
Hovell	1	Hyne	17	Mounserope	3
Hare	1, 5, 16			Martell	3
Heydon	2, 13	Inglethorpe	1, 5	Molton	4
Hoo	2, 6, 11	Jerry	1, 4, 11	Maninge	4
Holdiche	2, 4, 13	Ingloise	3	Moundford	5, 11
Holkham	2	Ingham	4, 8	More	5, 8, 12
Herwarde	3, 8	Joyner	5	Malvers	6
Heron	3	Irningland	7	Martin	7
Horseman	3	Jernegan	7	Mowbray	8
Hethersett	3	Jenkinson	11	Mayhew	9
Hacon	3	Jenny	12	Moigne	9
Harseck	3, 5, 8	Jeningson	12	Metholde	11
Honinge	3			Mountney	12
Hicklinge	4	Kerdiston	2	Morgan	12
Hogan	4, 16	Knolls	5, 7, 16	Mansier	12
Hevingham	4	Kempe	8, 10	Marshall	14
Holtoft	5	Kene	4	Markham	15
Hunston	5	Knivett	13, 16	Mingay	17
Huntly	5	Kerville	14, 16	Mountgomery	17
Holbeck	5			Maraham	16
Haman	6	Lovell	1, 4, 13		
Harcourte	6	Leventhorpe	2	Norwich	3
Hemnall	6	Lane	2	Noone	3, 7
Hollet	7	Lamkin	3	Narbourowe	5
Hassett	7, 11	Lomner	3, 8, 12	Nicholls	5, 11, 14
Hallaway	8	Lesingham	6	Nanton	6
Heath	14, 8	Lyhart	6	Norman	6
Hampton	8	Loudham	7	Nortost	9
Hughes	8	Lancaster	8	Nowell	17
Hartstonge	10	Lamerton	8	Norris	
Holland	10	Leighton	12		
Hokenell	10	Lingehooke	14	Ormesby	3
Heneage	11	Lad	16	Opsall	3
Honypot	11	Linne	16	Oasbourne	9, 17
Hobart	12	Let	16		

Prisot	2	Richers	10	Sydney	12
Payne	2, 10, 13	Rous	10	Stathowe	12
Phillippe	2	Roper	12	Stuteville	13
Paggrave	2, 7, 11, 15	Reade	13, 15	Seafould	15
Payton	4	Restwoulde	14	Stanley	16
Poyarde	4	Russell	15	Stubbs	9
Pratt	4	Rant	17		
Pike	5, 7			Thorpe	1, 8
Paynell	5	Shelton	1	Tops	1
Pigot	6	Spilman	1, 12, 17	Thurle	2
Pope	6	Scales	1, 6	Tindall	2, 5, 7, 13
Poole	6	Sendlow	1	Tempest	2
Plumpstede	7, 16	Sholdham	2	Taverham	2
Platter	7	St. Omer	2, 3	Tirrell	3, 8
Philippe	8	Shardelow	2, 10	Tremayne	3
Plays	8	Smalpeece	2, 15	Tills	4
Pellham	8	Salisbury	3	Tatsall	4, 6
Pever	8	Sneck	3	Talboth	5
Parker	10	Somerton	3	Tudenham	5
Pickerell	11	Sharnbourne	3, 6	Taye	5
Pepis	12	Stranges	3, 14	Tendering	5
Paris	13	Spencer	4, 5, 10	Tooly	6
Pelburgh	14	St. Bennets	4	Thwaites	8
Peirce	16	Stanhow	4, 6	Tetley	8, 14
Pigeon	16	Sharington	4	Towne	9
Paston	16	Sotherton	4, 9	Turner	9, 10
		Stapleton	6	Teobalde	10
Quaplod, <i>vide</i> Bacon		Smyth	6, 11, 12, 14	Throgmorton	10
Quitwell, <i>vide</i> Crofts		Sothwell	6, 17	Thetforde	11
	11	Swilington	7	Thornage	12
		Scarlett	7	Thumblethorpe	14
Reymes	2, 8, 5	Sidnor	7	Topcliff	14
Reps	2, 5, 14	Spany	7, 11	Talbot	14
Rugg	2, 10	Stodhouse	7	Tolwine	15
Rudham	3, 4, 5	Shimpling	7	Tichborne	16
Ratcliff	3	St. Clow	8	Tounsand	16
Rockley	3	Sackforde	8	Townly	18
Roos	4	Sterne	8, 13		
Rocharde	5	Symondes	8, 16, 15	Vindall	3
Randes	5, 8	Smalburgh	8	Violet	9
Roseling	5, 8	Singleton	10		
Risely	6	Sibthorpe	10	Wyne	16
Rookwood	7, 13	Styward	10	Walpoole	11, 15
Royes	7	Sibsey	11	Wingfeilde	11

Whipple	10	Whenburowe	4	Wetherby	2
Wanton	9	Wodehouse	4, 9, 11	Warren	3, 8
Welton	8	Wigmore	4	Whitby	3
Wallishe	8, 13, 14	Windeham	4, 16	Wolsey	3
Waking	7	Wren	4	Waller	3
Writtell	7	Waldegrave	3	Wilby	7
Whitwell	6	Westecles	3	Wilkinson	11
Wollman	6	White	1, 2, 8	Wheatly	12
Wibton	6	Wooton	1	Ward	9
Walsham	6	Walcott	2		
Whitinge	5	Wichingham	2	Yarmouth	2, 8
Wroth	5	Woods	2, 3, 4	Yelverton	7, 17
Walkfare	4	Wayte	2, 10		
Wachesham	4	Winter	2, 16		

The foregoing List is a continuation of the Index made by the Rev. R. Hart to a portion of the Harleian MS. 1109, and published in our Society's third volume. Mr. Hart having been unable to continue the Index further than to the end of letter C, it was thought desirable to complete it; and the result is now produced. The Catalogue may not be considered a perfect one of all Norfolk families entitled to bear arms, nor does it appear to be, in every respect, confined to the county exclusively; but it is nevertheless a document of interest and value, as a collection of the arms borne by persons *in* if not *of* the county at a particular time, and probably as complete as the resources of the original compiler could make it. It may be as well to observe that the MS. is not one of those referred to by Mr. Sims, in his *Index to the Herald's Visitations, &c., in the British Museum.*

C. R. M.



REMARKS ON SOME
Churches
 IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NORTH WALSHAM,

VISITED BY THE SOCIETY JULY 19 & 20, 1854.

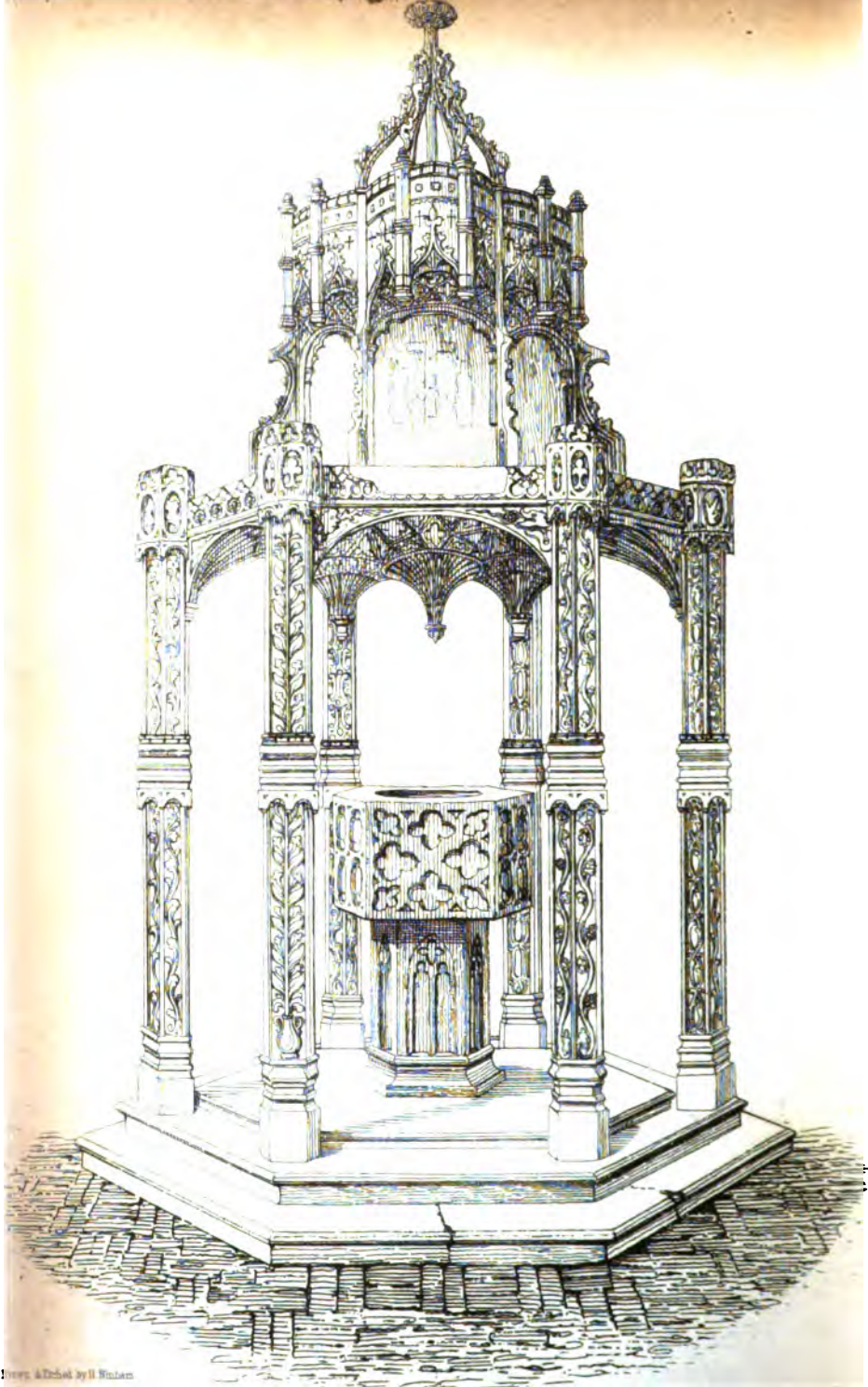
COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A., Hon. Sec.

THE churches bordering on the coast of Norfolk have long been celebrated for their noble dimensions, the beauty of their architecture, and the richness of their internal fittings. Some of these were inspected by the Society during its recent excursion in the neighbourhood of North Walsham; and it is now proposed to throw together, by way of record and illustration, a few of the more remarkable objects of interest then examined. Omitting all notice of the principal attraction on the Society's route—the venerable walls of Bromholm, which deserve and have obtained a separate Paper—the following remarks will be confined to some examples of church architecture, furniture, and detail, which were thought worthy of observation.

The first church in the order of the excursion, and one of the best in the district, is TRUNCH. This beautiful building is tolerably well known by means of several architectural publications of late years. A plan and an interior view are given in Brandon's *Parish Churches*, and the nave-roof has been lithographed to illustrate a Paper by Mr. Clutton in Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*. There is much,





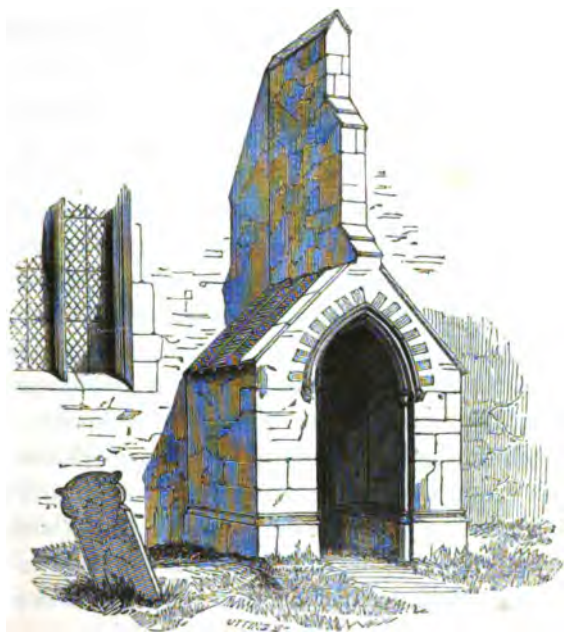
THE BAPTISTRY. TRUNCH CHURCH NORFOLK.

however, in the church which deserves still further publication, and of which it falls within the province of a society such as our own to furnish information to its members. A very rare and elaborate piece of church-furniture, the "*Baptistery*," or self-supporting Font-cover, which attracted so much attention on the spot, is now illustrated for the first time, and by the kind liberality of Mr. C. Muskett, the engraving is presented to this volume. It is very richly carved in oak, and was formerly ornamented with colour and gilding; and is, in fact, a cover, not resting on the font itself, in the usual way, but supported by slender wooden pillars outside the font, and so forming a hexagonal inclosure, beneath which the baptismal service may be administered. This form of cover is extremely rare, and indeed appears to be, with one exception, a rather extravagant fashion, which prevailed only at the decline of architecture, and is seen again in a more debased style after the Reformation, as at St. Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich. There are other instances of wooden cases covering fonts, as at Littlebury and Thaxted, in Essex, and Newington, in Kent; but these are fitted to the shape of the font, which itself is concealed, and not admitting of a passage between the sides of the case and the font, as in this instance. The exception alluded to is the fine baptistery at Luton, Bedfordshire,* which is of the Decorated style, but is a construction of stone. The present example, which is of Late Perpendicular date, is almost too minutely ornamented for an exact description. It rests on six small shafts or pillars of square form, each having buttresses, and carved, in their whole height, with twisted foliage rising out of a vase, formerly gilded, and terminating in animals' heads. These support a hexagonal top, each side of which is canopied, and had originally some further decorations—traces of the Crucifixion, with St. Mary and St. John, being visible on two of the sides. The ground of these was alternately

* Engraved in Lysons's *Magna Britannia*: "Bedfordshire."

red and green. Above this is a crocketed canopy, from which the finial is lost. The font itself appears to be of the Late Decorated period, of the same age as the aisle windows, about 1350, the sides being panelled with tracery; and it is probable that it had at first a cover of the same date and of plainer character, for which the present one was substituted early in the sixteenth century, being perhaps a donation from one of the benefactors who are recorded on another fine piece of wood-carving remaining in the church, and which also deserves a brief notice here. This is the Chancel *Screen*, not the least beautiful of the numerous ones for which the North-east portion of Norfolk is famous. The lower panels have paintings of twelve Apostles, with their usual emblems, St. Matthias being omitted and St. Paul taking his place. The figure of St. Peter, which is the first on the North side, has, in addition to the keys, an open book, on which is written, "Credo in Deum omnipotentem." Above these panels is a highly elaborate cornice, having scrolls intertwined with foliage, on which is carved a prayer for the donors and a doxology—an amplification of that in the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelation. A small portion of it has been published in Brandon's *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*. Beginning at the North end, the inscription is as follows: "Orate pro animabus omnium benefactorum istius operis, quod factum fuit anno domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo, quorum animabus propicietur Deus: ita sit." On the South side: "Gloria, laus, honor, virtus, et potestas, atque jubilatio, graciaram accio, amor indeficiens, per infinitum, sæculorum sæcula: Amen, dicunt omnia." The date of this beautiful screen is thus fixed at the year 1502. The upper part consists of six arches and the doorway, filled with tracery. The *Pulpit*, which now hides part of the screen, is doubtless of the same date, but unfortunately painted slate-colour. Its sides are carved with the linen pattern; it rests on a shaft with a capital; and it has a por-

tion of a canopy at the back, rising from the ground, with the springers only of the groined head still remaining.* A remarkable feature in the chancel of this church is the *Porch-buttress* over the priest's door on the South side. The doorway is Decorated, and the shallow porch enclosing it rises up into a buttress above. The accompanying wood-cut, also



engraved in the *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, displays the arrangement. Mr. Brandon, in his *Parish Churches*, explains the peculiarity in the following manner: "This arrangement was probably had recourse to after the construction of the priest's doorway, which is Decorated, to resist an apprehended spreading of the walls in that spot, and is a remarkable instance of the simple yet elegant manner in which the ancient architects surmounted any difficulty of

* Compare a similar canopy to the pulpit at Fotheringay, engraved in the *Glossary of Architecture*.

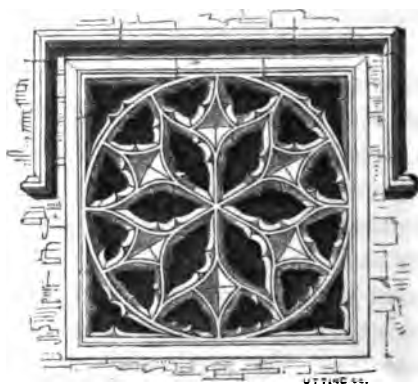
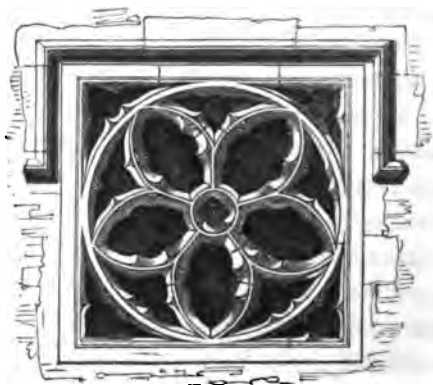
the kind." He notices a somewhat similar porch at Grun-disburgh, Suffolk; and it may be added that, at Knapton there is also a chancel porch, which seems originally to have had a buttress rising from it, which has now disappeared. It is probable that one was imitated from the other. A fine Gable *Cross* on the nave-roof has also been engraved in the *Analysis*.

At KNAPTON, the next parish to Trunch, the *South Porch* to the nave is a feature of much interest. It is a simple, but very effective, structure of the Early Decorated style, having windows at the sides with characteristic mouldings and tracery, and above the outer doorway a beautiful triple niche, no doubt intended for a crucifix, with the figures of St. Mary and St. John. Porches of the earlier styles are by no means common; many were probably removed in the fifteenth century to make way for others in the Perpendicular style, which are so general, and frequently so highly ornamented, in Norfolk and Suffolk. The remarkable porch, of Transitional Norman date, at West Walton in this county, is well known; and plain examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may occasionally be met with. The fine Decorated porch at Hellington, near Norwich, with three open arches on each side, differing from one another in design, was noticed in a Paper on that church read at a recent Quarterly Meeting of the Society. The curious anomaly in the nave windows of Knapton church was pointed out on the spot by Mr. Gunn. Their arches are semi-circular; the mouldings are of the Decorated style, and the tracery is Perpendicular. Whether they have been altered to suit internal arrangements, or whether they are instances of the experiments tried by the ancient builders when mouldings and tracery were in a state of progressive development, remains a vexed question. The *Roof* of the nave of this church is of great magnificence; and although the pitch is lower than that at Trunch, and the design inferior, its rich acces-

series of carved figures and shields, and painted scrolls, &c., produce a very fine effect. An entry in the Register records its erection by one John Smithe in the year 1503. It is constructed with double hammer-beams, each bay thus forming, as it were, a cinquefoil; and the figures represent prophets, apostles, and saints, and the heavenly hierarchy. Roofs of this construction are not common: a less elaborate example occurs again in the county, at Gissing, near Diss; and there are very fine instances at Grundisburgh and Worlingworth, in Suffolk, and at Westminster Hall. A lithograph of the Knapton roof is given with the Paper already mentioned, in Weale's *Quarterly Papers*.

Almost all the churches in this part of Norfolk retain their ancient *screens*, most of them being of Late Perpendicular date. One, however, visited by the Society, at EDINGTHORPE, is of the Decorated style, having the tracery supported by small circular shafts, with capitals and bases: these were originally ornamented with spiral bands of colour. An etching of it was published by Cotman. The passion which seems to have prevailed in this part of the county, at about the close of the reign of Henry VII., for all kinds of wood carving, may probably have caused the destruction of many another screen of the previous style; for but few examples in the county can be named which are of the Decorated period. There is said to be another of similar character in the neighbouring church of Walcot: there is an elegant parclose-screen of the same date at East Harling; and a very fine rood-screen, now removed to the belfry arch, occurs at Southacre. To such a pitch was the desire carried to ornament the churches with painted screen-work, that there are not a few instances in the neighbourhood of a second screen, supporting a gallery, in the tower arch. A beautiful example was inspected at WORSTED, which, according to an inscription remaining upon it, was erected in 1501. Other examples of this practice may be found at no great distance, as in the churches of

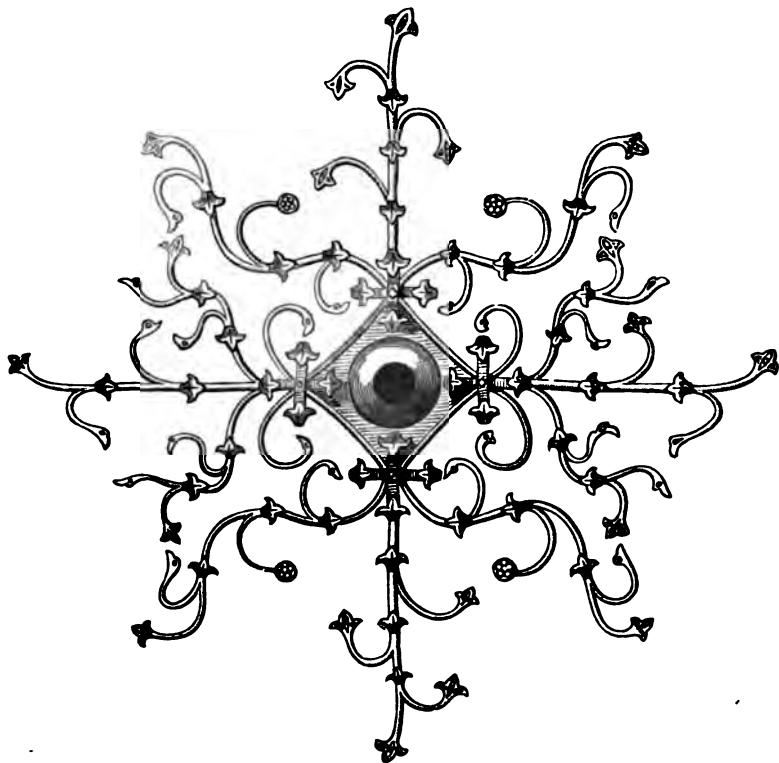
Aylsham and Cawston. The whole church at Worstead is a noble structure of the period of transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, the tower being particularly fine: the beautiful sound-holes in the latter are engraved in the accompanying wood-cuts, and also in Brandon's *Analysis*. It has a rood-



screen of similar character to that at Trunch, which is also a dated example, the inscription recording its construction in the year 1512. The fine font and lofty wooden cover here have been engraved in the *Archæologia*.* There are also two plates of this church, and a description, in Neale's *Churches*.

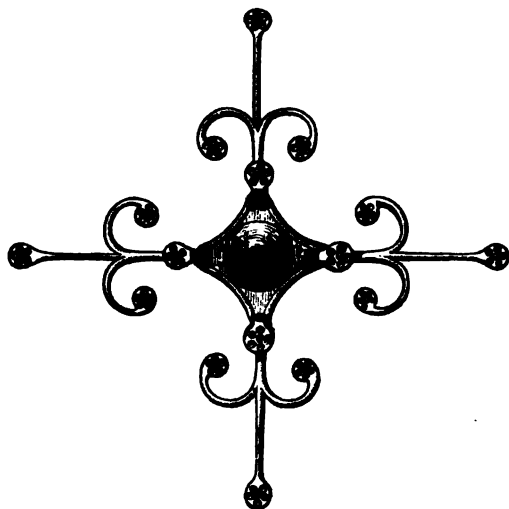
* Vol. XVI., Plate xliv.

Another fine church of similar Transitional architecture, is TUNSTEAD, where some curious features were noticed. On the South door is a remnant of the beautiful wrought iron-work of the middle ages, formerly so abundant, and now so frequently destroyed by ruthless "improvements." An illustration of it is shewn in the accompanying engraving,



and it has also been given as a specimen of metal-work in Brandon's *Analysis*. The ring for closing the door was originally in the centre, but is now lost; and the ramifying branches extending from it act as a stiffener to increase the strength of the wood-work to which it is attached. Its date is of the fourteenth century, and the gracefulness of the

design, and the delicacy of its execution, contrast but too favourably with the lifeless imitations of the present day. It is to be hoped that it will be duly cared for during the reparations now going on in the church. A plainer example, of somewhat similar workmanship, remains on the South door of the neighbouring church of Irstead. This is also a closing-



ring, and very suitable for modern reproduction. A third, at Edingthorpe, is characteristic, but less ornamental.

The aisle windows of Tunstead church are very remarkable specimens of the change from the Decorated style to the Perpendicular, and may probably be dated at the end of the reign of Edward III., or even at the beginning of that of Richard II. The tracery might be termed flowing, were it not that each of the foliated ovals has small supermullions inserted in it, the intermediate spaces being cusped, by which a slightly vertical effect is produced. Unfortunately this peculiarity cannot now be seen, as every window has been injudiciously deprived of it. The original design was certainly not pleasing, nor suitable for our imitation; but

as showing a transition stage of architecture, and the experiments which were had recourse to while the styles were in progress, it should have been preserved, as a document, free from alteration. Another most curious feature in this church occurs at the East end of the chancel, internally. A few stairs on the North side lead to a raised platform behind the altar, extending across the chancel against the East wall, and about a yard wide. On the South side is an entrance, with steps leading downwards a few feet. There is thus a narrow cell separated from the rest of the church, and lighted by a grating from above. To what purpose it could have been applied, must, of course, remain a matter of conjecture: it is not unlike some receptacles in foreign churches for the bones of a favourite saint. There is a somewhat similar arrangement at Brisley church, and it is possible that in each case the use intended was that of a Charnel-house.

Some probable remains of a much earlier style of architecture than could be furnished by any of the other churches visited by the Society on this excursion, were pointed out in the North wall of BRESTON church. The blocks of car-stone, and the indications of herring-bone work and of long-and-short work, are good evidence of Saxon date. There is little else worthy of notice in the building, modern arrangements having greatly disfigured the interior.

BARTON-TURF is another fine edifice, probably built during the first half of the fifteenth century. Its tower is imposing, and the West doorway retains a beautiful carved oak door. A corbel to the groining of the North porch represents a head-dress, which confirms the probability that the church was erected in the reign of Henry IV. or V. A fine screen and some curious inscriptions in brass add to its interest.

Besides the ornamental iron-work already mentioned at IRSTEAD, there is a fine font, of Perpendicular style and unusual design. Four of its sides are sculptured with the conventional representation of clouds, in which are the following

subjects:—in the East face, the head of Christ in a cruciform nimbus ; in the South, St. John Baptist's head in the charger ; in the West, a hand and scroll ; and in the North, the Agnus Dei. The remaining sides are filled with foliage. An unappropriated coat of arms in a North window of the chancel in the same church, is worthy of record here, in case the name to which it belongs may be discovered. The shield is heater-shaped, an early form, and the glass presents no appearance of alteration or combination. It is to be blazoned thus : Barry of fourteen, gules and argent ; on a canton azure, an escutcheon, viz. :—quarterly, or and sable, a bend of the third.

Lastly, and by no means least, the fine church of NORTH WALSHAM may complete the group which has thus been im-



perfectly sketched, as a record of pleasant and instructive visits. The date of the architecture is Early Perpendicular, and agrees very well with the tradition that it was rebuilt,

after having been occupied and destroyed, during Bishop Spencer's engagement with the rebels in 1381. It does not appear, however, to have been entirely demolished at that time, as there are two very beautiful windows, one at the East end of each aisle, of pure flowing Decorated character. An illustration of them is here given. A small corbel-head supporting the label of the Easternmost window in the South wall of the aisle, has a head-dress which may be safely attributed to the reign of Richard II. or Henry IV. The South porch,* which is a good specimen of flint work, has the Royal Arms in several places, differenced with a label. These have been generally ascribed to John of Gaunt; and as the first quarter is France ancient, i. e. *semée* of fleurs-de-lis, a bearing which was disused soon after 1400, this coat strongly confirms the above opinion that the church was built in the latter half of the reign of Richard II.

The tower, formerly 147 feet high, fell down in the year 1724, and is now but a picturesque ruin. In the interior there is a fine font with a lofty wooden cover,† unfortunately white-washed, of the Perpendicular style; and the lower panels of a rich screen and parcloses attest the former splendour of the fittings. The pulpit is also of the same age, and a very beautiful example. At the back of the sedilia, i. e., in the North wall of the South aisle, (for the aisles here extend to the whole length of the chancel) is a recess with an elliptic arch, and a small aumbrye beside it: for what purpose it is hard to say. There are instances occasionally to be met with of sedilia pierced at the back, as these may have been; but whether to be used as confessionals, or for some practices connected with the altar, it must be left for further observation to determine. So fine and spacious a church, and with such good capabilities, deserves to be freed from its wilderness of pews, and to be restored in arrange-

* Engraved in Neale's *Churches* and in the *Builder*.

† A view of it is given in Neale's *Churches*.

ment and internal appearance to a state more befitting the beauty of its architecture and the sanctity of its purpose.

On the North side of the chancel is a large monument to the memory of Sir William Paston, Knt., the founder of the free-school in the town, who died in 1610. Blomefield mentions that Sir Wm. Paston contracted with John Key, a free-mason of London, for the erection of the tomb, with his effigy, armorial bearings, &c., at the cost of £200; and it was set up by him in his lifetime, in 1608, as the inscription shows. Blomefield also mentions that this inscription was written for the tomb by Sir Thomas *Kolevet*, a name which is evidently a mistake for that of *Knivett*. Sir Edmund Paston, the grandson of Sir William, had married Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Knivett; and the following letter, kindly copied for the Society by Mr. Greville Chester, from the original in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, refers to this very subject. It would appear from it that Sir Wm. Paston sent an inscription for the approval of his friend; and if that were the one now on the tomb, Blomefield must have been in error in saying that it was written by Sir Thomas Knivett. The inscription intended does not, however, accompany the letter; and it is therefore possible that it was *not* to the "good liking" of Sir Thomas, and that he substituted for it the one which now appears on the monument; which would reconcile the statement of the historian with the letter. It is as follows :

Sir,

I have thought yt good to sende you her inclosed by my servant this berer, the Epitaphe made for my Tombe, the which I have good liking of, and therefore yf you be of that minde I will have yt ingraven upon the stone out of hand, desiring you to return me the same by my messenger yf yt be to your good liking, that yt may see goe forward presently, otherwise to sett downe your minde

to the contrarye. Allso M^r. Kemp desire that you would send the cotes with some I have matched; and you will have more done, Robert Kemp will perform yt. And I would gladly knowe of your going to London, for that I would be glad to see you at Wallsham, that thereby my Tombe may be perfected according to your advise and direction. And so with my right harty commendations, I wishe you all good desires in the Lorde, according unto your harts desire. Paston, this 14 of October, 1608.

Your assured Allye
in frindshipp to use,
WILLIAM PASTON.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Knivett,
Knight, at Ashewellthorpe.



A Brief Sketch of the Antiquities

OF THE

VALLEYS OF THE WAVENEY AND YARE.

COMMUNICATED BY
GREVILLE J. CHESTER, ESQ., B.A.

THAT the physical conformation of a country or district exercises a great influence, both upon the general character and upon the actions of the inhabitants, is too well supported by facts and by experience to be a matter of doubt. This is of course most strongly apparent when a mountainous region is immediately contrasted with a wide extent of level country, or when a rich plain succeeds to a sandy and barren district. I cannot, however, help believing that this fact is manifest, even in a county whose natural features are so comparatively similar, and whose extent is so small, as is the case with our own Norfolk. In searching for antiquities it has always seemed to me that relics of past ages and past races (I speak of the earlier periods) are more especially abundant in three districts, differing from the rest of the county in soil and appearance, and in which we should, without prior knowledge of their existence, have most of all expected to find them. In the open heathy districts of West Norfolk, which were so well adapted for military operations, we find an unusual number of tumuli, ancient earth-works, and other relics of the British period. Of this the neighbourhoods of Swaffham and Holt may be cited as examples. Again, in the peaty morasses which border on Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, among the ruins of those forests which, stocked with red deer, roes,

and boars, once covered those parts of the country, vast numbers of early British weapons have been discovered, and not a few relics of the Roman period. Lastly, upon the verge of the rivers Bure, Yare, and Waveney, not only relics of British and Roman times have been found, but vestiges also of the Saxons and Danes.

It is to the neighbourhood of the two last-named rivers that I now wish to direct attention; and, the better to illustrate the subject, I shall have occasion each now and then to cross over to the Suffolk side of the Waveney. I am aware that I can scarcely offer anything else than a catalogue of places where relics have been turned up: at the same time I feel convinced of the importance of preserving the names of such localities, and I am anxious to contribute such information as a residence in the district has enabled me to acquire. If members of our Society would note down and communicate such discoveries as take place in the parts with which they are most familiar, a mass of information would be speedily accumulated, which could never be attained by far better-informed *strangers*. It is well established that the valleys of the Yare and Waveney, which now present so peaceful a prospect of waving meadow-land, were, even within historic times, branches of a wide and troubled estuary of the Northern Sea. And this fact accounts for the numerous vestiges of successive races—Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish—which may be traced upon their banks. The wide estuary and the broad navigable river alike afforded convenient ingress and egress for the galleys of the invading Romans and Danes into and out of the heart of the country, and pointed out to the natives the necessity of assembling their forces upon the banks for the purposes of defence.

To begin with relics of the Celtic period, which, whether of stone or bronze, I shall for convenience class together, I have seen celts of flint and metal found at Roydon, Diss, Scole, and Palgrave. At Hoxne a large number of rough

flint celts were discovered some years since. Lower down the Waveney, celts have been found at Earsham, Ditchingham, and Ellingham on the Norfolk, and at Bungay Common on the Suffolk side of the river. But the greatest treasures of all were dug up in making the foundations of Geldestone Hall, and are in the possession of John Kerrich, Esq. These most interesting relics, which I am disposed to assign to the Celtic period, consist of two bands or fillets of thin gold. Though broken, all the parts of one and the greater part of the other have been preserved. Though the patterns are different, a waving cable-like ornament in relief is observable upon both. The length of one band is nearly twelve inches, and the breadth one and a quarter; the other was probably, when perfect, about the same size. A kind of clasp is formed at either extremity, the golden plates being bent so as to overlap. These remarkable and precious ornaments may perhaps have been used as fillets for the head, but I am unable to remember any similar specimens. At Thorpe next Haddiscoe a bronze spear-head has been found, and that but a short time since; and a most beautiful celt of flint, found with others at Thurlton, is in the possession of Mr. Last, of Beccles. A fine stone celt from Belton, on the Suffolk side, belongs to Mr. Smith, of Yarmouth. In his most interesting *History of Suffolk*, Mr. Suckling has noticed the barbarous destruction of some so-called Druidical remains at Gorleston, an act the more to be regretted on account of their extreme rarity in the East of England. Before taking leave of remains of the British period, I must recall to mind that Sir Thomas Browne, in his quaint and beautiful treatise, "Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial," notes the discovery at Thorpe of coins inscribed IC. DVRO. T. It is interesting to connect this circumstance with the recent find of rare British silver pieces at Easton, near Norwich.

To turn to Roman remains: a Roman road crosses the Waveney, near Billingford, but I have been unable to hear of

the discovery of any relics of that age higher up the valley than Redenhall.* In that parish a quantity of Roman pottery was found some years ago, in a gravel-pit on the Gawdy Hall estate; of these, the most perfect are in the possession of Mrs. Holmes. The pottery consists of two basins and saucers, of the so-called Samian ware: at the bottom of one basin is a potter's mark, much obliterated, but resembling a man's head, with an indented mark behind, within a circle; there is also a small amphora of black earthenware, and a fragment of a larger bowl of the same colour. At Earsham, the earth-works of a camp, called by Blomefield, upon I know not what authority, "Danish," have been levelled within the last few years. The discovery of a *Roman* urn, during the work of demolition, certainly militates against the opinion of the great Norfolk historian. Mr. Baker, of Bungay, possesses an immense bridle-bit found in the Earsham camp, to which I cannot venture to ascribe a date. About a mile from the Earsham entrenchments, upon the other side of the river, rise the huge mounds, within which is built the Castle of Bungay. The discovery of numerous Roman coins at Bungay, and the situation of the town upon the line of the Stone Street, render it probable that the castle mounds are the work of Roman hands. Ditchingham has produced an urn filled with those minute late Roman coins, which are supposed to have been thrown among the populace on public occasions. At Kirby Cane, some workmen who many years ago were digging a ditch in a field, called "Pewter Hill," came upon a confused mass of human bones, among which were three or four spear-heads, a jewelled buckle, and two swords. The whole of these objects were unfortunately dispersed, but they are believed to

[* Roman coins have been found rather numerously in the village of Scole, not many hundred yards from the river; and a small urn of black ware was discovered at Diss, in making the railway, a little to the North of the station. Coins of the same age are also said to have been found on the glebe at Diss, near the Rectory.]

have been Roman. Since that time a kind of oven or kiln of Roman tiles has been found on the same hill, but it was broken up before I could see it. In some excavations which I made upon the same spot, I turned up a considerable number of the bones and teeth of animals, and several fragments of blue, brown, and black Roman pottery. Is it possible that a potter's kiln existed in this place, and that the number of fragments of Roman ware scattered about suggested the name "Potter's Hill," now corrupted into "Pewter Hill?"

Geldestone, the next parish to Kirby Cane, is the place of the discovery of the beautiful Roman glass vase, which, with the accompanying portion of a bulla and the earthen vessels found therewith, form the subject of an interesting Paper in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*.* I possess a very perfect denarius of the Emperor Alexander Severus, from Gillingham; and the Rev. Alfred Suckling has a gold Roman ring, from Barsham, on the Suffolk side of the river. Burgh St. Peter, or Wheatacre Burgh, is commonly supposed to have been the site of a Roman station; but though its commanding situation above the Waveney is well adapted for works of defence, no vestiges of any such exist at the present time, nor can I even hear of the discovery of either coins or pottery in that parish. Mr. Suckling informs me that remains of this period have been found, both at Fritton and at Gorleston. At the junction of the river Waveney with the Yare stand the noble ruins of Burgh Castle, the ancient Garianonum: these are, however, so well known that any attempt to describe them would here be superfluous. There can be no doubt that Reedham was a place of Roman occupation. Coins are found there still, but not so frequently as formerly, for the earthworks which formerly existed there have been levelled: indeed, a considerable part of the hill on which they were erected has been altogether carried away, for the sake of the sand or clay which composed it. Chance has thrown in my way a piece of information which is too important to be

* Vol. VI., p. 110.

passed over without notice. The late Mr. Leighton, in the course of some excavations, discovered on the low cliff of Reedham the ground-plan or foundations of a circular tower, which he believed to have been a Roman Pharos. It is impossible at this distance of time to gain any further particulars of so curious a discovery: I will only observe that a lighthouse on the hill of Reedham would have been visible from the Roman station of Garianonum, and from a large extent of the estuaries of the Yare and Waveney. The Roman coins found at Reedham, which I have seen, belong to Hadrian, Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Younger, and Gordianus III. During the progress of the works of the Norwich and Yarmouth Railway, several urns were turned up in a cutting at Buckenham. On the opposite side of the Yare, Roman coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, and Quintillus were, in 1707, discovered at Thurton; and more recently an urn was found at Carlton containing several gold and silver coins of the lower empire. I will not now enter upon the question whether the Venta Icenorum of the Romans was at Norwich or Caistor; I will merely mention that Mr. Gurney's view that it was at the former place, is, in my opinion, strengthened by the fact that whatever remains of Roman times are discovered at Norwich, are commonly deposited at a great depth underground. It seems fair to conjecture that deposits of such considerable antiquity would, in so populous a place as Norwich, be covered by an immense mass of rubbish, and that they would in consequence appear much less common than in reality they are.

My list of Saxon antiquities from the Waveney and Yare valleys is but meagre. A golden bulla, in the possession of Mr. Manning, was turned up at Palgrave; this object, however, is regarded by some antiquaries as a relic of Roman workmanship.* Pagan-Saxon urns have been found near the Minster, St. George's South Elmham, and at Stow Park, near Bungay. On the Suffolk banks of the Waveney two parishes

* Engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. IX., p. 107.

preserve the name of Saint Felix the Burgundian, the apostle of the Eastern Counties. The church of Flixton, near Bungay, lifts up a venerable tower which bears every mark of having been founded prior to the Norman Conquest. Mr. Suckling claims as a Saxon building the ruined "Minster" at St. George's, likewise in the neighbourhood of Bungay. I am not aware that any antiquities have been discovered, either near the Waveney or Yare, which can be safely assigned to the Danish invaders. A sword in my own possession, dredged up in the river at Norwich, strongly resembles one figured in Professor Worsaae's interesting work. But if objects of Danish workmanship are absent, the numerous "Bys" and "Thorpes" unmistakeably testify to the occupation of this part of the country by the bold Northmen.

Under the oak of Hoxne, says tradition, Edmund the Christian King of East Anglia, fell by the hands of the Pagan invaders, and to this day the country folk think they behold the sheen of the murdered king's armour under the bright waters of the brook by the side of which the fugitive monarch was discovered and betrayed. Lastly, we must look in the neighbourhood of Reedham for the spot pointed out by tradition as the place where Regner Lodbrok, the Dane, was so wonderfully cast ashore and so treacherously murdered by the Saxon Biorn.

I have now concluded my list of the localities in which antiquities have been found: that it might be vastly increased I cannot doubt; the task of noting them I must leave to those who have more leisure than myself. I have omitted all mention of earth-works, which, as I am informed, exist at Darrow Wood in the parish of Denton, at Ilketshall, and at Mettingham, near Bungay, as I have been unable to visit them. I have likewise passed over in silence my own discovery of a human skeleton in a tumulus on Broome Heath, as the entire absence of any work of art prevented my hazarding an opinion as to the age of the interment.

EXTRACTS FROM EARLY WILLS

IN THE

Norwich Registries.

BY

HENRY HARROD, F.S.A., Hon. Sec.

IN the first volume of our Papers will be found a series of Extracts from Wills registered in the Archdeaconry Court of Norwich.

As stated in my preliminary observations to them, they were from the Wills of yeomen and traders; those of persons of higher degree being registered in the Diocesan Court.

I now lay before the members a few Extracts from the Diocesan Registers, which are complete from 1370, except from 1383 to 1408 and during the period of the Commonwealth. Register (Harsyck) from 1383 to 1408 has suffered so much from damp and decay, that it is almost useless: this has arisen from no recent neglect, for every page was gone over, and every testator's name which he could decipher, re-written by Sir Simon D'Ewes (whose autograph appears on one of the leaves) somewhere about 1640; it must therefore have been progressing to decay in his time.

From 1408, however, they are in capital order, and contain an enormous mass of information, of which little beside the genealogical portion has yet been made available; and I should have much preferred to have commenced with a volume of extracts rather than with a few pages, had the funds of the Society and my own engagements permitted it;

as, however, I have by no means exhausted my present stock of extracts, and shall from time to time add to them as opportunity permits, I hope in time to give the Society some idea of the value of these Registers.

I should add that among the Miscellaneous Documents in the eighth volume of the *Institution Books*, about a dozen Wills are to be found: why they were entered in that volume instead of the Registers, I am unable to say, but a list of them will be found on the inner side of the cover of it.

Adam de Skakilthorpe, Rector of Causton. 1370.

[Dioc. Reg. Heydon 3.]

Latin.

[Appoints John de Pyssale, Rector of Alderton, one of his executors, and leaves to the Priory of Hykelynge the organs which stand in the chancel of Cawston.

Among many legatees, servants and tradesmen of the testator, appears the name of "John Brydale," to whom he gave a silver cup without a cover. This is, no doubt, the John Brydale whose name appears on the base of the right-hand pillar in the curious painting of Saint Agnes in the chancel of Cawston church, of which Mr. Bulwer has given us an etching at p. 37 of the last volume, and who was, therefore, very probably a resident "artist."]

John de Cone, Advocate in the Consistory Court, Norwich, 48th Edward III. 1374.

[Dioc. Reg. Heydon 33.]

Latin.

I give to the monks of Langley my book called Sextus. Also, to the monks of St. Benedicts of Hulm my book called hostiensis abbreviated, with a red cover.

[The lawyer leaves his clients two of his law books: the Langley monks, the Sixth Book of the Decretals; the

monks of St. Bennet's, Hostiensis, an eminent writer on the Canon Law. "Reade likewise upon al these matters (of the Pope's jurisdiction) Hostiensis, a noble canonist."—*Beehive of the Romish Church*, 170a. Grey Friars' library, London, 1421. Item, for the Lectures of Hostiensis, now lying in the chains, 5 marks.—*Monasticon*, Vol. VI., p. 1520.]

William de Morley, Knight. 1379.]

[Dioc. Reg. Heydon 161.]

Latin.

Also, I give to Cecilia, my wife, a silver spice plate with the arms of Bardolf in the bottom, and my black palfrey. And I give to Thomas, my son and heir, the heirlooms in my hall; viz., the principal dorsers, with four costers and one banker, with my arms.* Also my best bed of silk with three red carpets with my arms, and six silk cushions. Also, a cup of silver gilt with a cover called "bekir."†

John, son of Alexander Fastolf. Dated Sept. 28, 1383.

[Dioc. R. Harsyk 5.]

Latin.

My body to be buried in the churchyard of Saint Nicholas, Great Yarmouth. I give to the church aforesaid, 40^s. I give to the use of the church of the Holy Trinity [Castor], 6^s. 8^d. I give to the Rector of the church aforesaid, 20^s. I give to the church of St. Edmund [Castor], 6^s. 8^d. I give Sir John, Chaplain of the church aforesaid, 6^s. 8^d. I give to all my servants, double wages. Also, I give to Hugh, my brother, a cup. I give to Ada, my sister, another cup. I give all my other chattels to Mary, my wife. I give to

* *Dorser* was the wall covering; *coster*, that for the table; and *banker* for the benches.

† *Byker*, cuppe. In the accounts of Edward Prince of Wales, in 1348, occur "two great pieces of silver called 'Bikers.'"—*Prompt. Parv.* p. 35.

the same Mary, my wife, her heirs and assigns, 52^s. rents annually received by me from divers lands and tenements in Yarmouth, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold, &c., for ever. I constitute Mary, my wife, and Hugh, my brother, and Sir John Oxwick, Rector of the church of the Holy Trinity aforesaid, my Executors.

[Proved at Norwich 25th October, 1383.]

This is the father of the great Sir John Fastolf, who is not named in the will, but as he was born in 1380, and the estates acquired by the above testator had been duly settled, there is nothing remarkable in the omission of his name.

Sir Hugh died in 1417, and by his will, entered in the *Institution Book*, VIII., p. 133, directed his body to be buried in the Carmelites at Caen, until it could be removed to Nacton, Suffolk; mentions his wife, Matilda,* and gives directions concerning the manor of Bradwell, of which Sir John and he were feoffees to uses; gives his arms to John Skot and Robert Cook, and makes Sir John Fastolf and Henry Inglose his residuary legatees.]

Bartholomew Bacon, Knight, Erwarton. 1389.

[Dioc. Reg. Harsyke 148.]

Latin.

Also, I give 40^s. to pray for the souls of Edmund Bacon, my brother, Robert, Isabel, and John. Also, for the soul of John Pykat, for a debt for cloth bought of him in Vascony, 17^s.† Also, for the soul of William Hardewyne, for a debt for a horse bought of him in Vascony, 40^s. . . . Also, I desire that Joan, my wife, may have the vestments of my chapel, with two chalices for the term of her life, and after her decease the chalice at Ludham to remain there in the

* She afterwards married Edmund Stapelton, Esq., and died in 1435. Brass at Ingham.

† This is a singular mode of discharging a debt.

chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the churchyard of Ludham; and the chalice at Erwarton to remain there in the chapel of Saint Margaret. Also, I desire that Joan, my wife, may have my ring called saphir, for the term of her life, and afterward, if no other directions given by me, may be sold, and the price distributed for my soul and those for whom I am bound. In like manner, I desire may be done with the book called "Romaunce."

Sir Miles Stapleton, Knight. Ingham, Monday of the Ascension of the Virgin, 1414.

[Liber. Inst. VIII., 144.]

Latin.

[Desires to be buried at Ingham, where his brass still remains.] I give to the high altar of the religious there one vestment of gold, which is in my chapel. Also, to the Prior and convent there, my best horse with harness for one man at arms. Also, I give to Brian, my son, my silver cup with cover, which belonged to St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury; also, a covered cup, which was my father's; also, a red bed with black dolphins, with the whole apparel of the suit, and one old bed which was my father's, with "curtynys de sandell" and red carpets. Also, I give to my said son six silver dishes and five saucers of the best, and six silver dishes and one saucer of the older sort, with my blessing. Also, I give to Cecilia, the wife of the same Brian, a silver cup with cover, which was Richard's, Rector of Benacre, and a diamond ring. Also, I give to Sir Robert Brews, Knight, a silver cup, gilt and enamelled, with a cover and six dishes and three saucers of silver. Also, I give to Ela, my daughter, wife of the said Robert, a silver cup with a cover, which was Richard's, Prior of Ingham, and a coverlet and tester,

flowered with griffins, with seller [celura*] and three curtains of "carde," and three carpets of worstede of a sanguine color, with my blessing. Also, I give to Edmund,† my son, a sword and a silver cup with cover, with my arms at the top of the cover, 40^s. in silver, with my blessing. Also, I give to Friar Richard Aylesham, of the order of the Carmelites, if he survives me, 13^s. 4^d. Also, I desire that all my servants have their full wages with their liberty to the feast of Michaelmas next following my death.

Executors: Oliver Groos, William de Scheffeld,‡ Rector of Salle, Edmund de Stapylton, John de Boys, Robert Rous, and Thomas Russell, Rector of Waxtenesham. Supervisors: Sir Bryan de Stapylton, his "most dear son," and Sir Robert Brews.

* A canopy of a bed.

"Hir bed was of asure

With a chekir *seloure*."—Halliwell's *Dict.*, "*Seloure*."

In the *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. II., 479, is a bequest of John Cornwallis, Esq., of Broome, Suffolk, of "a bed of box, tester, seller, corteyns, counterpane, fetherbed, bolster, and 2 pillows."

† Died in 1417.

‡ This William de Scheffeld was appointed one of the executors of Sir Brian de Stapilton, whose Will, written in the 17th Richard II. at Wighall, Yorkshire, where he appears to have been then residing, is to be found in the *Test. Ebor.* 198. He devises to his dear nephew, Miles of Stapilton, his great paternoster of awmber. He speaks of William de Scheffeld as his brother: bequeaths to the Lady Elisabeth de Stapilton, his daughter, "un table d'argent endore et eneymelle de le coronement de Nostre Dame, si el se port devers moy naturelment taunke a mon dissece, et oultre ceo jeo devise a mesme la Elisabeth un annull de le soyne propre, que jeo solay porter entour mon colle, ove un crosece d'argent endore, ove un floreigne de la ymage de Nostre Dame comment q'el se port bien ou male." He gives to Elisabeth Nevyll, his daughter, a "farmayll d'ore," upon which is written "soffre me convyent;" and to his niece, the Lady Anista de Medilton, a round bason of silver or an image of our Lady of alabaster which was the Anker's of Hampoll; and to Nicholl de Medilton, a Nouché surrounded with pearls. He gives the residue, with the blessing of God and his own, to his son Miles, and prays him not to peril his soul by leaving his debts unpaid, as he will answer before God at the day of judgment; and begs, if his son

Giles Cook, Chaplain, Salle. 1417.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning 30.]

Latin.

Also, I give to Thomas Drew one pair of knives with silver handles. Also, one book of the Exposition of Latin Words according to the Order of the Alphabet. . . . Also, I give to the Rector of the church of Salle a book called *Summa Summarum*.^{*} Also, another book called *Pupilla Oculi*.[†] . . . Also a jewel made of silver and gold for medicinal perfumes. Also, I give to Richard Dallyng a clock with all its appurtenances, and vj^s. viij^d., and one pair of knives. Also, to James Whytwelle . . . cheos and chesmeny . . . and one pair of tables with their appurtenances for playing.

dies, living "my very dear brother William his uncle," he will distribute the residue in works of charity. Besides de Scheffeld and his son Miles, his nephew, William de Holme, is named an executor.

In the same volume of York Wills, p. 88, a Will occurs of a Sir Miles de Stapilton, very short and affording little information as to his family: it is dated in 1372 and names Sir Brian de Stapelton, Thomas de Stapelton, Sibilla de Stapelton, and the parson of Melshamby, his executors. The editor of the *Test. Ebor.* considers this testator to be of Bedale, the eldest son of Sir Gilbert de Stapelton, escheator beyond Trent in 1319, by Agnes, or Maud, daughter and coheir of Brian Fitzalan, Lord of Bedale; and that, if so, the Sir Brian he mentions was his younger brother, and one of the deponents on the side of Scrope in the contest with Grosvenor about their armorial bearings, and of whom there is a long account in the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll.

* John Newton, Treasurer of York Minster, leaves, in 1414, to Robert Polayne, a book called "*Summarum*."—*Test. Ebor.* 370. And Adam de Botheby, Prior of Peterborough from 1321 to 1338, had a copy in his library there.

† This book also occurs in Newton's Will. The church of Terrington had a copy given about 1380 by John Aldenham, Vicar: it likewise occurs in the List of the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, given by Dugdale, and in the Inventory of the Books of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, in the *Test. Ebor.* 324. It was by John de Burgh, Chancellor of Cambridge, and became extremely popular. John Andrew, Vicar of Sibton in 1507, bequeathed "a boke callyd 'A Puyll,' to be fest in the queere of Sybton w^t cheynys."—D. R. Spiltimbre.

Ada March, sometime the wife of Thomas March, Burgess of Great Yarmouth. 1418.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning, 33.]

Latin.

Also, I desire that my two pieces of land and a garden with their edifices and appurtenances in Great Yarmouth, of which one lies between land of Edward White and a common lane on the part of the South, and land sometime of Robert Elys, senior, on the part of the North, and abuts upon land of Robert Turk, Tyler, towards the East, and upon the Port of Yarmouth, West. The other piece of land is called "le Tolhows," and lies between two common lanes on the part of the South and North, abuts on late John Playford's land West, and upon Middlegate towards the East, may be sold after my decease by my executors, and the produce applied for my soul's health.

[The house named in the above will is the present Toll-house Hall, where the Sessions are held. The Yarmouth Rolls have notes of payments relating to it, back to the time of Edward I. It appears to have been built in the thirteenth century for a Toll-house.]

Thomas Skernyng, Rector of Frettenham. 1418.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning 49.]

Latin.

I give to my brother Richard a sword, which was the sword of my uncle.

[He seems to have looked on this as his most valuable possession.]

William Appilyard, Citizen of Norwich. 1418.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning 53.]

Latin.

Also, I give to Margaret, my wife, and Robert Erpingham, parson of the church of Braken, their heirs and assigns, all

that my capital messuage in the parish of St. Andrew's in Norwich, next the cemetery of the said church, to be sold and to be applied, if necessary, in payment of my debts. And also a messuage, with appurtenances, in the same parish, called the Cokeye, to be sold for payment of my debts, and to be disposed for my soul, for the said Margaret, for my father and mother, and all faithful deceased.

[The house first named is that of which so remarkable and beautiful a fragment still remains: it is of the Decorated period, and the squared flint-work finished with astonishing delicacy; a penknife can scarcely be inserted in the interstices.]

Clement Paston, Paston. 1419.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning 50.]

Latin.

Desires to be buried in Paston church between the North door and the grave of Beatrice, sometime his wife; gives residue to Margery, wife of John Bakton, and to William Paston, his son.

[This William Paston was the "Good Judge," who died in. 1444.]

Katherine Braunch. Sunday after Feast of St. Peter in Chains, 1420.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning.]

Latin.

Item, I give to the house of the Friars Preachers in the City of Norwich, late burnt, 20 shillings.

[The Black Friars were originally placed on the ground between Calvert Street and Magdalen Street, Colegate and Golden Dog Lane; but having obtained a site on the other side the river, in St. Andrew's Parish, removed thither about the beginning of the fifteenth century. On the 4th May, 1413, their house and church and all their buildings

were burnt down and they were obliged to return to their old site, where they were again burnt out by an accidental fire in 1449, when they again removed to St. Andrew's.—*Blomefield, IV., 337.*]

Walter Godard, Teryngton. 1426.

[Dioc. Reg. Hirning 164.]

Latin.

Directs to be buried in the church of St. Clement, next Catherine sometime his wife, by the altar of St. James; bequeaths to the fabric of the said church £10. to the reparation of the new window with the life of St. Etheldred.

Thomas Kensale, Rector of Banyingham. 1429.

[Dioc. Reg. Surflete 10.]

Latin.

Also, I desire that the parish of Banyngghm may have 6^s. 8^d. of broken sylver. Also, I desire that my ladder in my Rectory of Banyingham may be always dependent upon the walls of the Church of St. James in Norwich, in case of peril of fire.

[If I mistake not, fire-ladders still hang on the walls of St. James's Church.]

Robert Cupper, Burgess, Great Yarmouth. 1434.

[Dioc. Reg. Doke 65.]

Latin.

I give to Robert, my son, my Psalter, sometime of Robert Mangrene, and my best Primer, with a certain book called Stimulus Consciencie,* and which book is now in the custody of Agnes, wife of William Paston of Paston, until the said Robert comes to years of discretion; and I give and bequeath to William Paston my beads of "Hawmber" marked

* In the Public Library at Cambridge is a tract called "Stimulus Conscientie."—Halliwell's *MS. Rarities*, p. 35.

for twelve, and to John, son of the said William, my best "baslard,"* with girdle to the same belonging. Also, to John Havyrland, Prior of Yarmouth, my beads of "Haumber" marked for ten.

Sir Bryan Stapylton, Knight. 1438.

[Dioc. Reg. Doks 53.]

Thys is the last wyl of me Sir Bryan of Stapylton, Knyth, Lord of Inghm̃, made at Inghm̃ on the iiijth day of the monyth of may, in the zer of the reyne of henri kyng of Englund and of Frawnce xvi. As towchyng all these mafies, londes, and teñ, rentes and servyč, and avoswesons of pryoures, chyrches, and chapelȝ, in sweth henf henr̃, [*sic*] Counte of Northumbyrlond, as dyvce other ben enfeffed on to myn use: *fyrst*, at the begynnyng, I p̃y and require thes effeffes that they make unto myles Stapulton, swyr, my sone, sweth stat in thes mafies, londys, and tenñ as hese counsell and he schalle devyse and ordeyne, upon thys condycyon, that the same myles deyth in this moneth, aftyr that he haȝ takyn a stat cler, schalden a statt unto me, sayd Bryan Stapylton, knyght, for terme of my lyve. And oṽ that the seyde Myles schall make and graunt a suer astate as law may devyse on to Bryan Stapylton, swyer, my sone, and unto Isabell, his wyff, of an anuyte of xx lib yerly, for to

* A *Baslard* was a kind of long dagger suspended to the girdle, and worn not only by the armed knight but by civilians and even priests. Thus, Piers Plowman, in allusion to the neglect of clerical propriety, says,

"Sir John and Sir Jeffery hath a girdle of silver,
A baselard . . . with buttons overgilt."

Knighton tells us that the weapon with which Sir William Walworth put Jack Straw to death was a basilarde. Sir William was a member of the Fishmonger's Company, who still preserve the weapon traditionally recorded to have been used by him on this occasion, and which he presented to the Company.—*Notes to Prompt. Parvulorum*, p. 25.

payn on to hem for terme of here both lyves, in and of y^e mañ of Coderston, in the Counte of Yorkshyr, and evmor upon condycyon y^t if those~~x~~ sumes of mony wheche be to pay unto Thoms Heth for the maryage sylver of Anne, my doghter, that now is hys wyff; and all myn owⁿ dettes, legates, mispresyons, extorcyons, don be me nev^{er} mow not bene rered of myn owen godes, jowell, and catell for to pay and content unto all mañ of persones that ryght her concyens havyn to be restoryd any peny, then schall the seyde myles, my son, payn restoryn unto all mañ psones the surplusage, and the remanent that remayneth ov^{er} of hys owyn good mony and sylver; and to pforme alle thys abowte rehersyd the seyde myles hath insured me be his trowth that he schall pforme it on hes prty, and evmor he hath insured me that he xal certeyn ~~z~~eres, as hes concyens demyth, fydyn a p^{re}st to syng in hes Chapell qwer he kepyth hes housold for my sowl and Cecyl, my wyff, and for the sowle of Ser Myles of Stapulton and Ele, hes wyff. And as towchyng in alle my goodes, catalles, and jowelles that xul levyn aftyr my deces, and alle my stuff of housold and husbondrye in my maner of Inghm or elleswher, thys is my last Wyll, that Myles, my sone, have all that ther of that he desyreth moste to his profyte to a certeyn p^{er} wythin the valew pryed unto hym be myn executowres hes felaws. And also thys is my preyo^r and myn entent, that alle the dettes and the parcell of dette comphendede in a bylle that is owyng to the Pryour of Inghm and to hes brethern, be the fyrst that schall be payd. And also it is my wyll and my pyer, that all my other dettes y^t ben owyng to any other p^{er}sone ben payd as it may be; and ever more thys is my wyll, that from thys tyme forward that myles stapylton, swyr, my sone, schall have alle the gov^{er}nance & rewell of alle my mañes, londes, rentes, and tenementes qwer so ev^{er} that they be in any schyr in Ingland, and also of myn howshold, so that ther schall nowte be don in no degre wythowte the seyde Myles. And evmore thys is my

wyll, that alle my swannes and synettes, as well of the newe merk as of the old, schall dwelle to the mañ of Inghm, unto the behof of the seyð myles w^t oute any medelyng or any inſopcyon of all my mañes from thys tyme forward.

In wytnesse of all thys wrytyng to thys my last Wyll, the selle of myn armes I have put to the date of thys ȝyft zer day and place above seyð.

[Directs his body to be buried in the chancel of the priory of the Holy Trinity of Ingham; and appoints Lady Elen Brews, Myles Stapylton, Esq., of Weybred, Bryan Stapylton, Esq., of Ingham, William Yelverton, and Thos. Stodhaghe, his executors.

Blomefield's Pedigree of this family at Vol. IX., p. 320, is very defective; but might, with the facilities which now exist for obtaining information about the Yorkshire members of it, be very largely added to.]

Richard Edy, alias Fermer, Westacre. 1438.

[Dioc. Reg. Dove 163.]

Codicillus.

In the name of Alle myghte God and of our lady seynt marie and of all the holy seynts in hevene, and to the rowelage of alle christen puple, I Richard Edy, also clepyd Richard Fermer, I have in my ryghte mynde, w^t sore ransakyng in my consciens, and my body beyng in hele, w^t outyn any mañ of sekenes, I have maad my testament: Fyrst, I besett [bequeath] to Seynt Nycholas Kyrke [Lynn] iiij^s. iiij^d., if I be beryed ther. Also, I beqweth to William Edy, my brother, iiij^u. viij^d., for bond goods wheche I sold of hys heritage. Also, I beqwethe to Maut Candeler, my suster, xxxij^s. iiij^d., for xx^s. that my fadyr besette her, and ij semys of malte, the wheche hath ben owynge her this xxxiiij yer & moor. Also, I beqwethe to Simond Candeler, my cosyn, xl^s., to rewarden hym for the losse that he had of my place in Westacre, the

wheche is in my consciens for to make a mendys. Also, I beqwethe to Crystian, my cosyn, my modys goodowter, vij^s. iiij^d., the wheche my modyr be sette hyr a forn hyr dede day. Also, I beqwethe to Roberd Candler, iiij^s. xj^s. viij^d., for many durs things the wheche I have receyved of hym xxiiij yers goon, the wheche is in my consciens & the parcel ben why & wherfor her after for to reherce. As for the fyrst, I have sold of hys to John Owden of Castelacre v acre of lond, the wheche lyeth in the same feld of Castelacre, & is holdyne of the Erle of Arundell for xx^d. be zer, the wheche cost the forseyd Roberd of me xlij^s. Also, I owe hym for vij bales flax, xj^s. viij^d. And also for x^s. the wheche he lent me. Also, I owe hym for a pece of dyapr of x yardes long of Table Cloth, and for an harneysed cors w^t sylv, & for a peyr of bedys of corall, & for a ferunde of Elys, & for stokfysh, & for hors hyr, & for a stoon of Botter, & for a peyr of london botellys, and other smal ger, for the wheche I owe the forseyd Roberd, that is to say, xlix^s. viij^d. . . . Also, I beqwethe to W^m. Candler, my cosyn, x^s. that my fadyr besette hym xxxiiij yers goon. Also, I be qwethe to Richard Whaplode, my cosyn, xl^s. of my good, because I had robyn hym v acre of lond, the wheche lyeth in Walton feld, & there of I have maad a sale; . . . & this is my ful wyll at thys day, that it be fulfilled indede, w^t owtyn ony mañ of condicion of geynseying of me or ony man in my name, ful & fast for to standyn & to be holdyn if I dye any daye w^t inne this iiij zer. And that prest nor frere rede nor syng after my xxx day, but as thei don for alle cristen sowles. Wretyn at Westacre, the day & time above seyde; & to the record that this is my wyll and my dede, I sette hereto my seal. And I, Sir W^m. Barnard, prest, recordeth the same. And Thomas Bradlee, & Thomas Barker, Geffrey Candler, Geffrey Langham, W^m. Barker, W^m. Langham, John Owden, Adam Zonge, Robert Clement, & other moo. Also, I beqwethe John Coky xx^s., the wheche I have awt hym this xx

zer and mor. Also, I have lying w'inne my chest in the ton of len bysāpp xxij^{li}. xij^s. iij^d. to pay my dettys w'al. Also, margaret, my wyf, hath in her awends al my mony y^t was reseyved for the sale of hyr place in hyllington, savyng xl^s. the wheche I, Rechard, receyved. And this is the cause that the forseyd scriptur is maad, that margar, my wyf, is nowghte lovyng to me, ne to noon of my kynne, god knowyth the trewth.

[Proved 1441.

Here we have the extraordinary fact of a man in perfect health, acknowledging, in the presence of several persons, a systematic swindling of his relations and friends for many years, every one present assenting to his retention of his ill-gotten gains until after his death. And we have a priest throwing the gloss of penitence over a proceeding of which immediate restitution of the plunder formed no part. Nothing of the kind is contemplated until the death of the offender, although he appears to have had ample means of making it. So far from contemplating it, if he should not die within four years even the postponed restitution would be void.

Finally, by what we may call the "Postscript," we learn, (and it is one of the most curious testamentary revelations I have ever met with) that if Margaret, his wife, had been loving to him and his kin, there would have been no thought of "making amendys"—the priest would have assaulted his conscience in vain.]

Robert Norwich, Esquire, then abiding with the Prior of Norwich. 6th Feb. 1448.

[Dioc. Reg. Duke 5.]

Latin.

Also, I give to the great image of the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, my lesser silver collar with the livery of the Emperor Also, to Juliana, anchorite of

Carhowe, 20^d. . . . Also, to Friar Thomas, a recluse of the order of Carmelites, 20^d. . . . Also, I give to Master John Molet* one pair of small tables of box, with a Spanish gold ring. Also, to Sir John Dannowe, an amber ring which holds many relics. . . . Also, to Sir Thomas Hengham a paper book of the Household of the Duke of York, with other contents; and one little quire of paper, with the Kings of England versified. † . . . Also, I give to my companion, Robert Branton, my lesser sword, with buckler of calaber, and with a scabbard used when riding, ornamented with silver; and if he desires to have the other sheath, used to carry the said sword in the manner of a baselard, ‡ he may have it for a reasonable price. Also, to Isabella, my sister, a cross with gold chain, and the relics therein. . . . Also, I give to Richard Poryngland one book of the Meditations of Bernard, Anselm, &c. Also, to Thomas Crofts, my new statutes. Also, to Nicholas Frenge, priest, one book called Hocclef. §

Henry Noon. 1465.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 235.]

"I wyll y^t myn londs in Norff & Suff remayne to Elyea-
beth my wyff & to myn Issewe under y^e mañ and forme after

* Prior of the Cathedral Monastery.

† There is a copy in the Public Library at Cambridge to Edward II., beginning "Herkenet hiderward Lordinges."

‡ See note, at p. 327, about *baselard*.

§ I have a note of a small paper book in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which the Colophon is, "Explicit Liber iste qui vocatur Occllyffe de regimine principum," &c.; and the opening verse,

"Musyng upon y^e restles besinese,
Which yat yis trubly world hath ay in hond,
Yat oy^r thyng yan fruyt of Byttnesse
Ne yeldeth nozt as I can onderstonde;
At Chestris Cytye, in right by y^e stronde,
As I lay in my bed right on a nyt
Thort me be rest yf of sclepe ye force & myzt."

wretyn, that is to sey, as for the maner of Martleshm̃ and Nebborne w^t y^e ptinenz, I wyll they remayne after my decesse to Elysabeth my wyff duryng her lyfe, as she hath a pleyn estaat in the same; so after her decesse, I wol y^t the seyde maners w^t all the ptinenz remeyne on to my sone herry, and to y^e heyres of his body lawfully be gotyn. And in leke wyse the maners of Shelfangr and Multn, and the Avowson of the chyrche of Waketon, wyth alle ther aper-tinez, I wille y^t they remayne after my decesse on to my seyde sone herry, whan he comyth to lawfull age, and to the heyres of hys body lawfully begotyn; and duryng the nonnage of my said sonne, I will that the revenuse and profyts of the seyde maner of Shelfanger and Multn be takyn and receyved be my wyff Elysabeth and other of myn ex-ecutors, to the kepyng and cherisyng of my chyldern tyll they come to lawfull age; and if ther any over pluse be, I will to be kepte to the maryage of my dowter and pformyng of my wylle. Also, I wille y^t my maner of Swystelyng y^t I bowte of William Deyville, my londs also y^t I have bowthe in Shelfanger or elleswher y^t I may selle, be solde be the seyde Elisabeth my wyffe. And to be keypd to the mariages of my dowters and pformyng myn laste wille and testamente in tym to come, except my tenements of ovsherewodes & nether-sherewodes, w^t the ptinenz in Shelfangr, I woll they remayne to myn yssue in fetayll as aptynent of the mañ of Shelfanger because it lyeth well, therfor, notwythstandyng, I bowte bothe Swystelyng and y^e seyde tenement of Sherwodes of William Deyvyl, because he labored on to myn faders feffees to have swystelyng in fe symple, so y^t he schulde leve Sherwods on to me in stede therof, for the wiche was made on to the seyde Willm a clear astate of Swystlyng in fe symple ther as he shuld have hadde but terme of lyfe be myn faders wylle, & because the seyde feffees of myn fader toke non suerte of hym but be hys trothe and pmys, y^t he shulde relese Sherwods tenements in to myn possessyon, the wiche the seyde Willm

Deyvyll hadde for hys goode ʒvise, be a relese of myn fader into hys possessyon, and after that he stode in strength of bothen, I was fayne to compmyse w^t hym, and moor ov^{er} I will if it be so y^t myn seyde son herry dye w^t owte ysseu of hys body lawfully begottyn, as godde defendit, yt thanne y^e remaynder of the seyde maner of Shelfanger and Multon, w^t alle the aptenez and the avowson of the Chyrche of Wakton shall remayne to othyr ysseu male of my body lawfully begotyn, ʒyf there ony be, and to the heyres of them lawfully begotyn in state tayle, and in like wyse the mañ of Martlyshm^{en} & Newborn w^t alle the ptinenz.”

[On failure of divers remainders, he directs estates to be sold and the proceeds divided into four parts: one part he gives to the issue of his mother; the second, to Edmund of Rockingham and to John his brother, and to the several issue of them; the third, “on to my cosyn Robt. of Parks dowter, and to the next blode of Noon in Mershe londe be syde Tylney departyd by even porcyons;” and the fourth part, to the good of his soul, his ancestor Sir Edmund Noon and Dame Isabella his wife, his grandfather and grandmother, and also for the souls of his father, Sir Henry Noon, and for his mother, and for William Barry and Elizabeth his wife, father and mother to his wife Thomasine.

This Henry Noon was constantly with Henry V. in his French wars, and greatly esteemed by him. The Will affords some particulars of the family not to be found in Blomefield.

The transaction with Deyvill is curious; and it is not to the credit of the lawyers of that day that no good means of preventing the occurrence of such cases appear to have been suggested for a very long period.]

William Bruyn, Chaplain, St. Stephen's, Norwich. 1477.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 106.]

Item, my brother Turnor and my syst^r Alis, his wyf, owyn to me iiij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d., but I suppose y^t it is v^{li}. and more, but this I trowe they wyll not denye y^t they owyn iiij^{li}. for iiij^{li}. I payed for them to lokke of london, her owyn wryting wytnesse y^e same, and xl^s. they owet me before; but my suste^r sche knowlechyde xx^s., and I aske hem no more but iiij^{li}., for I will not psume on my knowyng to fele, of y^e quych iiij^{li}. I be my testam^t for yeve her y^e of ij merke. . . . Item, I yeve to y^e Chirche of Seynt Stevyn my legende Auri [Golden Legend] to be scheued in some deske in y^e qwer for them y^t will rede y^m and lerne Item, to y^e Church of Seynt Swythenys, in Norwyche, my brode dyrge boke. Item, to y^e church of Seynt Gregory I yef my boke of y^e dowts of y^e legends, both tempall and of saints,* to be schewed in the chauncell for them y^t will leryn thereon y^t is wretyn therein.

Margaret Purdans, St. Giles', Norwich, Widow. 1481.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 163.]

Also, I give to John Sylvester, 20^d. and one Osculatory with "le pyte." Also, I give to Katherine Foster, recluse within the limits of the Friars Preachers, 5^s. Also, to the servant of the said Katherine, 12^d. And to the Convent of Nuns at Brosyerd, after the decease of the Lady Margaret Yaxley,† I give a book called "Le doctrine of the herte."

* "Doubts" were then coming into fashion. William Place, Priest, in 1507, gave to the Monastery of St. Edmund's his book "of the doubts of Holy Scripture, to lie and remain in the Cloister of the said Monastery as long as it will there endure." He had little notion that the monastery would periah before his "doubts."—Tymms' *Bury Wills*, 105.

† The Lady Margaret Yaxley was a Nun of Broisyrd, as we learn from the Will of John Smith, of Bury, Esq., 1480.—Tymms' *Bury Wills*, p. 56.

. Also, to the Nunnery of Thetford, an English book of Saint Bridget. Also, to Alice (wife of Richard Herward) one old feather-bed, one tippet, a cupboard standing in the hall of my great house, and an old cloth painted for an altar with the images of the blessed Mary, Saint Katherine, and Saint Margaret, and 3^s. 4^d. Also, to Margaret Hurry, sometime my servant, 3^s. 4^d. and Dorothy painted upon cloth. Also, to James Hobart a hanging candlestick. Also, to John Steyke, clerk, a tabernacle with the Passion of Jesus Christ and the face of Veronica painted upon cloth. Also, to John Estau, clerk, le pyte, steyned, and a double cross with a crucifix. Also, I give to Christian Veyll a circular osculatory, with the resurrection and three images of women, namely, the three Maries. Also, to Alice Barley a book called "Hylton."* Also, I leave

* Hylton I take to be the "*Scala Perfectionis*," by Walter Hylton, which was afterwards printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494. Its author was a Carthusian monk, said by Bale and Pits to be of Syon Monastery, but Tanner says Shene; the latter being Carthusian, and Syon, Celestine. Bale and Pits say he flourished about 1433; but Tanner, from MS. Notes, that he died in 1395. The Colophon of an English version in the Public Library at Cambridge confirms Tanner's date: it runs—"Explicit libellus Magistri Walteri Hilton canonici de Thurgatone, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo CCC. nonagesimo quinto, decimo Kalendas Aprilis, circa solis occasum. Nunc finem feci, poenitet me si male scripsi." Dibdin (*Typographical Antiquities*) gives several chapters of the book at length; the subject matter may be gathered from the headings of some of them:—

"Cap. 44. How every man may be saved by the Passion of Christ, be he never so wretched."

"Cap. 47. What profit it is to have the desire of Jesu."

"Cap. 81. That the hole of imagination need be stopped as well as the windows of the wits."

They show, Dibdin observes, among other things, how wildly and dangerously some of the most consoling doctrines of the Christian Religion were expounded by enthusiastic writers in former days. Pinson introduces his English Translation of the same book in 1494 thus: "Hereafter followeth a devoute boke, compyled by Master Walter Hylton, to a devoute man in temporall estate how he shulde rule him."

This Margaret Purdaunce, therein called Spurdaunce, is mentioned in the

to William Purdans, my son, ... a piece of silver with an eagle, called "my pece w^t the Egle." Also, I desire that all my written obligations and money arising from the sale of all my lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, may be placed in a certain chest with three locks, which chest is not to be opened, nor the money remaining in it divided, without the consent of all my executors.

Robert Morley, Esquire. 1482.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 223.]

And yf it so happe y^t my seyde wyff be putt in trobyll for y^e mañ of Morle, so y^t sche may notte kepe and enioy y^e seyde Mañ of Morle a cordyng to thys my wylle, then I wylle y^t be y^e awyse of Richarde Southwelle, Esquier, and John Wylliamson, my Curat, y^t my forseyd me^s [in Hingham] befor assynyd to my seyde Wyff for terme of lyffe, be solde, and y^e mony ther of comyng be putt in such use y^t my seyde Wyff have her honeste lyffynge, and therout onestly to be kepte for terme of her lyffe.

John Dyghton, Citizen and Vintner, Norwich. 1483.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 237.]

I bequeth to y^e fryers prestyd at y^e Fryers Mynors, j pype of Rede Wyne to synge ther Messes w^t. Also, I bequeth to y^e same place a steyned clothe w^t y^e ix worthyes. . . . Also, I bequeth to the Anker of y^e Whyght Fryers in Norwych, j poyer bedys of mestylden gauded w^t Calsedonys, & xij^d. in mony.

Will of John Barett, of Bury, 1461, a great benefactor to the church of St. Mary there. He bequeathed her a "double ring departed of gold, with a ruby and a turkeys, with a Scripture written within, for a remembrance of old love virtuously set at all times to the pleasure of God."—*Bury Wills*, p. 36.

Margaret Est, St. Martin in the Baily, Widow. 1484.

[Dioc. Reg. Caston 203.]

I wull y^t my Lettⁿ of pdon oñ the grey frers aft my berying be had home unto y^e same place unto y^e whiche I am sustyr, and vj^d. w^t y^e same lett^e and a masse y^r to be don for me if it may be born. I ordeyn and make myn attorney and execut^e my right trusty and well belovyd Cosyn Thoñs Thurkeld, shoemaker in Berstrete. And y^e same Thoñs at my desyre hath pmysed me to go for me steyn pylgremage, y^t is to sey, in my lyf to y^e holy seynt Wandrede;* and aft my dissease he xall go unto seynt Thoñs of Canterbury, and ther to prey for me to relese me of my vowe which I made y^rdyr myself. And from thens the same Thoñs xall go for me on pylgrymage unto y^e Abbey of Chelksey ther as Kyng herry lyth, yf my goodys wyll stretch so ferr for his costs. And so be hys pylgrymages y^t I may be releasyd of myn avowes.

Jerome Crowe, Rector of Scarning. 1507.

[Dioc. Reg. Spiltimbre.]

Also, I desire that these my books, viz., Decretals, Casus Barth^o,† Destruct^e vicio^r,‡ Sermones paci, Biblia, Linwood, Maniple curatorum, Sermones discipuli,§ a little paper book

* Another Will in the same Register explains the whereabouts of this saint. Alice Cook, of Horstead, at fol. 71, directs: "I will have a man to go a Pilgrimage to St. Wandrede of Bixley." The reason of the fame of this image is now entirely lost.

† Bartholomeus de Casibus Conscientie.

‡ Destructorium Viciorum.

§ Sermones discipuli. Of this book I have the following note. "This is copied in a maner worde for word out of the Booke called Sermones discipuli de te'pore, & de sa'ctis, promptuario exemplorum in the 163. Sermo' of the souls."

"... the paynes which they suffer there are so extreme, that our doctors write for a truth, That there was a soule which had lyen thirtie yeares in

called "Elenchorum," written with my own proper hand, may remain for ever in the church of Scarning.

Adam Hanys, Langham Episcopi. 1511.

[Reg. Cary, Archdn. N. 16.]

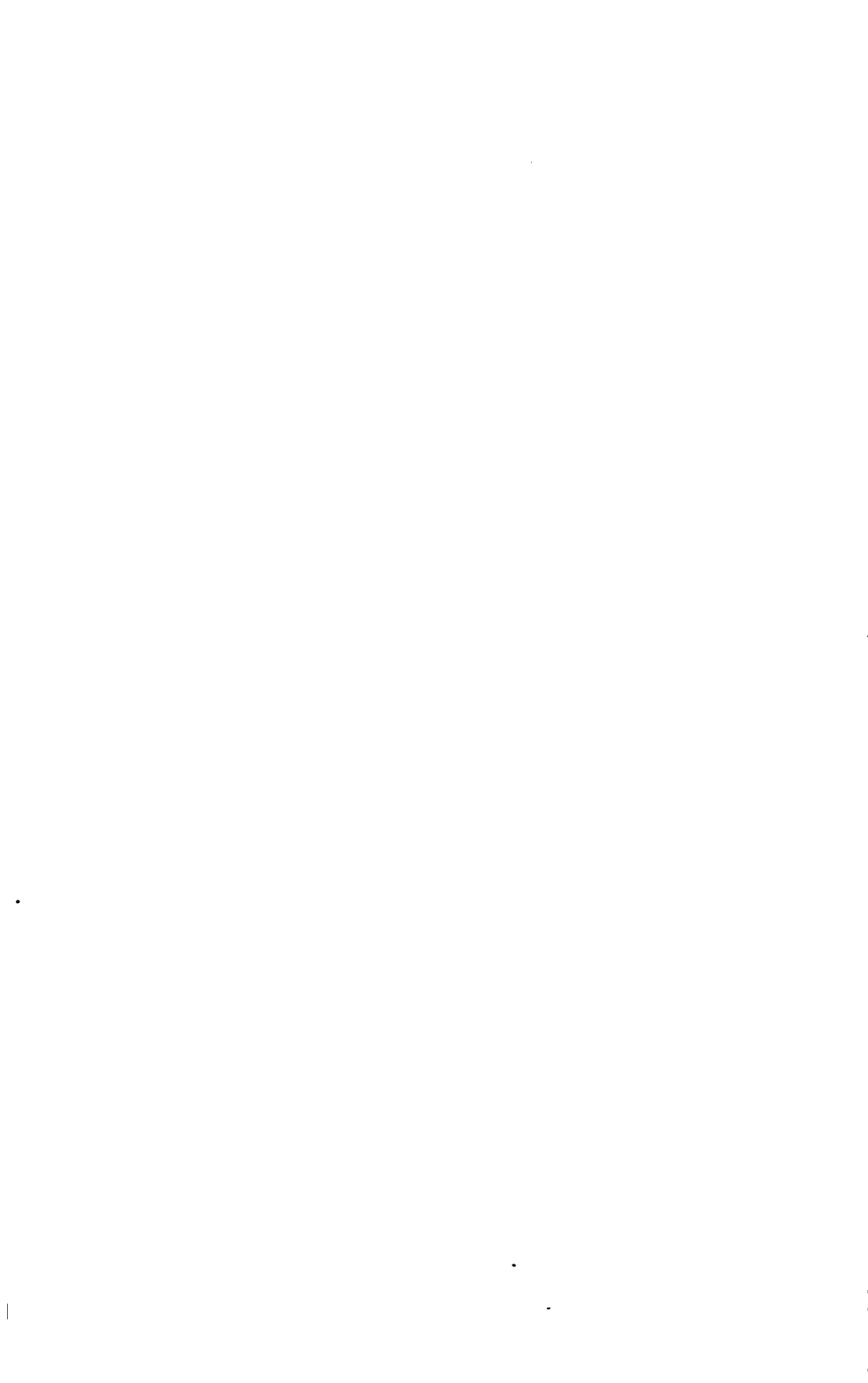
I bequeth to the hey Auter [of St. Andrew, Langham], xij^d. To the Chapell of o^r Lady ther, called Tofts,|| vj^d. To the repaçon of the Chapell of y^e Trinitie upon Wyveton Brygg, iiij^d.

Purgatory, and at last ther came an angel, who did bid the soule choose, whether it would tary yet one short winter's day in Purgatory, or that it would returne into the worlde againe, and there doe a marveilous hard penance, to wit for one long hundred yeares space, shoulde goe barefoote and tread still upon sharp yron nayles, eate nothing else but browne bread, and drink bitter Gall mingled w^t vinegar, and weare a cloth of Camel's haire next the skinne, and a stone under the head in place of a pillowe. This soule did choose much rather to do al that same hard penance in earth than to tary one day longer in Purgatory.' "

"From *The Beshive of the Romish Church*, Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, dwelling at the Three Cranes in the Vinetree. 1598."

¶ Jeffrey Pampe, of the same place, gives, in 1512, "to o^r blessed Lady of Tofts, viij^d." John Robyns, of the same place, in 1519, "my body to be buryed wⁱⁿ the sanctuary of o^r blyssed lady of Tofts. Item, I bequeth to the same Chapell, iij^d. iiij^d." And Robert Towting, of the same place, in 1521, bequeaths to the "repa'cion of the Chapell of o^r lady of Tofts, xij^d." Blomefield has no note of this chapel.





APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee.

4th April, 1850. THE REV. RICHARD HART called attention to a discovery of considerable interest which had just been made during the repairs of a large barn belonging to George Morse, Esq., of Catton Park. This barn lies to the South-east of Catton church on the other side of the road, from which it is separated by a narrow strip of land occupied by farming premises. In the walls of this barn were found a very large number of fragments of pillars and capitals, shafts, mouldings, &c., in Caen stone, chiefly of the Transitional period from Norman to Early English. One fine fragment, of which a sketch has been made, was exactly similar to a capital of one of the pillars now standing in the Close, near the Cathedral, alleged by Professor Willis to be the remains of the infirmary—the same elegant leaf and beaded pattern. Among the mouldings were some with the dog-tooth ornament; but the shafts and mouldings generally had considerable remains of Norman work about them.

These fragments were not arranged in any regular order, but appeared to have been used merely as building materials, being thoroughly imbedded in a rubble wall. Mr. Hart was inclined to infer that they were in close approximation to their original locality, chiefly from their abundance, and the identity of their style.

It was Mr. Morse's intention to preserve these fragments, as Mr. Hart requested him; but illness prevented his giving much attention to the matter, and they have nearly all been removed from the only locality where they could have had any real value.

MR. HARROD continued the reading of his Extracts from the Norwich Corporation Records, chiefly from the Sessions Books. The following description of a vagrant priest is from that of the 12th Henry VIII. :—

Memorand. that the thursday holy rode eve in the xijth yere of the reign of king herry the viijth, Robert Aleyn, yeman of my lord Cardinalls chamber, Lewes Thomas, of Norwich, Gent., S^r John Doraunt, prest, and Edmund Robynson, of Norwich; and before John Marsham, Alderman, depvtie to John Clerk, Maier of the Citie of Norwich, and John Terry, Alderman, and said and witnessed the words ensuyng: that wher they were together at one Mr. Legges, in Norwich, the daye & yere aforesaid, one S^r Willm Grene was then in company w^t them; And emongst other coiaçons ther had, the same S^r Will^m asked of the same Rob^t if my lord Cardinalls grace seid not messe before o^r so^vaign lord the Kyng of Inglond and the Kyng of Fraunce at Guynes, at his last being ther, &c.; And the same Rob^t answered and said, nay not at Guynes; And the same S^r Will^m then sayed, I was not ther, but I herde sey, for I was then in — [*sic*] with one Richard de la Poole,* which had on a gabirdon of scarlet, and also he hath a long berde down to the brest, and he axed of me many questions, and also wher the Kings Grace of Inglond was, and he gave me a nobill for a reward. And then the said Lewes Thomas said to the same S^r William, thou art a spye of the s^d Richard de la Poole; and the same

* This was the brother of that unfortunate Earl of Suffolk whom Henry caused to be beheaded in the Tower just before he left for his French campaign. He was in the service of Louis, and was commonly known as the "White Rose."

Rob^t saide, þst thou art a traytour, we xall brynge the before the Kyngs Counsell, &c. Wherupon the same S^r Willm̃, before the said deputie the daye & yer above wreten exam̃ed, denyed that he was with the same Ric. de la Poole, or that the same Ric. gave him any peny, but that he hath herde of the same Ric. de la Poole.

The same S^r William saieth that he was borne in Boston, in the countie of Lincolne, and aboute xvij yeres nowe paste, or there about, he dwellyd with Stephn at Grene, his father, at Wantlet, in the said countie of lincolne, and lerned gramer by the space of ij yeers; after that, by v or vj yeres used labour with his said father, sometyme in husbondry and other wiles with the longe sawe; and after that duelling in Boston w^t one Genet a Grene, his aunte, used labour, and other wiles goyng to scole by the space of ij yeers, and in that time receyved benet and accolet in the freres austens in Boston of one frere Graunt, than beyng suffragan of the Dioces of Lincoln; after that, dwelling within Boston wth one M^r Willm̃son, m̃chaunt, half a yere and after that, duellinge in Cambridge by the space of half a yere, used labour by the day in berynge of ale & pekyng of saffron, & sometyme going to the Colleges, & gate his mete & drynke of almes; and aft that, the same S^r Will^m, with ij monks of Whitby Abbey and one Edward Prentis, went to Rome, to thentent for to have ben made þst, to which order he coude not be amitted; and after abiding in lashington in the countie of Essex, used labour for his levyng w^t one Thom̃ Grene, his Broder; and after that, the same S^r Will. cam to Cambridge, & ther teried iij or v wekes, and gate his leving of almes; and after, dwelling in Boston ayen, laboured with dyv^a psones by vij or viij wekes; and after that, dwelling in London in holborn with one Rickerby, a fustean dyer, about iij weks; and after that, the same William resorted to Cambridge, & ther met ayen w^t the said Edward Prentise; and at instance and labour of one M^r Cony, of Cambridge, the same Will.

Green and Edward Prentise opteyned a licence for one yere, of M^r Cappes, than being deputie to the Chauncellor of the said univ^sitie, under his seal of office, wherby the same Will. & Edward gatherd toguether in Cambridgeshire releaff toward ther exibicon to Scole by the space of viij weks; and after that, the said Edward deſt^d from the company of the same Will^m. And shortly aft that, one Rob^t Drap, Scoler, borne at Feltham in the Countie of Lincoln, accompanied w^t the same Will^m, and they forged & made a newe licence, & putte therin ther bothe names, and the same Sealed w^t the seale of the other licence g^{nt}ed to the same Will. & Edward as is aforeseid; by which forged licence the same Will. & Rob^t gatherd in Cambridge Shire & other Shires. And at Coventre, the same Will. & Rob^t caused one Knolles, a tynker dwellyng in Coventre, to make for them a case of tynne mete for a seale of a title which the same Rob^t Drap holdde of makby Abbey. And after that, the same Will^m & Rob^t ca^m to Cambridge, & ther met w^t one S^r John Manthorp, the which hadde ben lately before at Rome & ther was made prest. And the same Robert Draper copied out the bulle of orders of the said John Manthorp; and at the desire of the same Will^m Greene, by the said copie forged & made a bull of orders of deken, subdeken & pstehode for the same Will^m; and the same Will^m tok waxe & leyed & pst it to the prynte of the seale of the title that the said Rob^t had at Makby aforeseid, & led the same forged seal in the casse of tynne aforeseid, & with labells festned y^e same to his said forged bull. And sithen the same Will^m hath gathered in dyv^s Shires, as Northampton, Cambridge, Suffolk, & Norfolk, alway shewyng & feyneng hymself that he hadde ben at Rome and ther was made preste, by colour wherof he hath receyved almes of d^vs and many p^{so}nes.

2nd May. THE REV. JAMES BULWER stated that a large ancient mound existed at Burgh next Aylsham, near the Old

Hall, belonging to J. H. Holley, Esq., and that recently the ditch surrounding it had been partially cleared and a number of antiquities of the Mediæval period found. Two of ten large jugs of the fashion of that period, an iron axe-head, and an iron arrow-head having large flat wings, there discovered, were exhibited. Mr. Bulwer had not heard of any remains of earlier date having been met with: he inclined to believe the earthwork itself was of very early date.

THE REV. JOHN GUNN reported the discovery of some mural paintings in Fritton Church,—St. Christopher, St. George, and other paintings of a somewhat remarkable character.

THE REV. W. T. SPURDENS exhibited some small roundels of brass, about four inches in diameter, found five or six feet beneath the surface of the earth at East Ruston, with seven others. One side of the roundel was perfectly smooth, the other covered with dints, as if from some weapon having been thrust or cast at it.

MR. FITCH exhibited a splendid massive gold signet ring of the fifteenth century, in a most perfect state, which he has recently added to his collection. The device is a buck's head caboshed, very finely and deeply cut.

THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER laid before the Meeting a drawing of one of the six female figures which occupy the North side of the screen at Houghton near Walsingham. Beginning at the North, they are as follows:

1. S^{ca} Anna, holding a book teaching a child.
2. S^{ca} Maria Salome, with her two children, viz.,
 St. James, with *qu.* a wallet, and
 St. John, with the chalice.
3. S^{ca} Maria: she wears a crown surrounded by a nimbus, and carries the Infant Saviour.
4. S^{ca} Maria Cleophe, with her four children, viz.,
 St. James, with Fuller's bat.
 St. Joses, with a palm.

St. Judas, with a boat.

St. Simon, with a fish.

5. S^{ca} Elysabeth, leading St. John Baptist, with his emblems.

6. S^{ca} Emona, presenting an open book to a young female.

The title of this last, written in Church Text, is indisputable; but it is not so clear who is represented. It has been suggested that it is intended for a person mentioned in the Apocryphal Gospels; but a fuller account of S^{ca} Emona is still a desideratum.

The other saints are on the South side:—

1. S^{cs} Gregorius, with dove at his ear.

2. S^{cs} Jeronimus Cardinalis, in cardinal's cap, and lion at foot.

3. S^{cs} Ambrosius Episcopus, in mitre and chasuble.

4. S^{cs} Augustinus Episcopus, in mitre and tippet.

5. S^{cs} Silvester, with a leper at his feet from whom a scroll issues, written, "Silvestere Sancte me tua salva prece."

6. S^{cs} Clemens.

MR. S. W. RIX, of Beccles, communicated the discovery of ancient earthworks at Darrow or Deerhaugh Wood in Denton. They appeared to him to be of early date, and to consist of a large circular hill enclosed by a ditch, and having a large enclosure with bank and ditch on one side of it. This wood is on the outskirts of the parish next Alburgh.

5th July, 1850. MR. BARTON, of Threxton, sent an extract from a note found among the papers of the late Dr. Newdegate, of Ipswich, relative to an ancient monument in Holt Church. "In repairing the chancel at Holt was found a hollow place in the South wall, between Mr. Hobart's monument and the window towards the East (which is in the vestry), which contains an arch and two persons, a man and a woman, in a very antique dress and praying posture with hands lifted up, much broken and shattered; the stone tender. They have been

painted. No inscription or arms. . . . The place is covered over to preserve these antiquities from being lost."

MR. HARROD, in a Paper on Painted Glass read by him at this Meeting, gave an account of the remains of the original paintings in the East window of St. Andrew's Church. The window is of the Late Perpendicular period, of five lights, of which the two outside ones alone retain any considerable portion of their original glass. The light to the left had Abraham's Sacrifice (which Blomefield describes as "the man stoned for gathering sticks on the Lord's Day!"), and three periods of the story were given: at the bottom, Abraham, Isaac, and servants, were represented preparing for the journey; above, Abraham dismisses the attendants, he and his son proceeding on their journey alone; still higher, Abraham's uplifted hand is stayed by the angel, and the ram appears to replace Isaac on the altar. The light on the other side has the raising of the brazen serpent. The lower portion is much damaged, and little can be made out except portions of a writhing figure here and there: above, Moses stands prominently forward pointing to the elevated figure of the serpent. Mr. Harrod stated that he had described the painting of Abraham's Sacrifice as it originally appeared, but great part of the lower portion of the subject is gone, and he had recently discovered it among many fragments of various dates in the East window of St. Stephen's Church, where portions of a painting of the Crucifixion were also to be seen, which he believed also came from the St. Andrew's window. In the central light at St. Andrew's there is now a small and curious picture, evidently from some other window, one probably of a series,—a Dance of Death. Death seizes a Bishop, fully robed, by the right arm, who averts his head as he falls upon the left arm of Death, which is extended to receive him.

12th December, 1850. MR. HARROD called attention to the very valuable information contained in the Rolls of Early

Subsidies in the office at Carlton Ride, which had been brought to his notice by Mr. Hunter, who informed him that up to the present time they had been wholly untouched by any one engaged in the investigation of Norfolk Antiquities. Mr. Harrod laid the following specimen before the Meeting,—a Return of a Fourth Payment of a Subsidy of Edward VI., from Lynn.

*Fourth Payment of the Subsidy granted 2 & 3 Edward VI.,
made 6th Edward VI.*

King's Lynne & S^c. Lynne.

Thomas Wayters, maiore, iſm, in bon		iiij ^{xx} li.	iiij ^{li} .
Thomā Guybon, armig,		”	”
Rob ^t . Some, micer		xx ^{li} .	xx ^s .
W ^m . Lovering, micer		lxxv ^{li} .	iiij ^{li} xv ^s .
Ralph Downes, ”		xxij ^{li} .	xxij ^s .
Rob ^t . Palmer, baker		xxxv ^{li} .	xxxv ^s .
John Hull, draper		xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
John Swayne, micer		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Rob ^t . Pke, fishmonger		xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
Will ^m Judye, micer		xx ^{li} .	xx ^s .
Rob ^t . Jervysse, micer		xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
John Curtysse, ”		xx ^{li} .	xx ^s .
Henry Baker, gent.		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Symon Rutland, yoman		xx ^{li} .	xx ^s .
Tho ^s . Day, mchaunte		xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
John Dynsdaille, ”		xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
Geoffrey Stell, brewer		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Frauncisco Welbye, micer		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Kat ^{na} Pmytter, vid		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Andrea Myl ⁿ , brewer		xxv ^{li} .	xxv ^s .
Rob ^t . Mowthe, mchaunt		xxv ^{li} .	xxv ^s .
John Dewke, mary ⁿ		x ^{li} .	x ^s .
John Pellys, mchaunt		xx ^{li} .	xx ^s .

Mgt. Myller, vidt	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
John Makunkder, mcht	xx ^{li} .	xx ^o .
Rich. Baxster, maryn	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
Simon Myller, mcht	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
John Richardson, inkeper	xx ^{li} .	xx ^o .
Peter Johnson, shomaker	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
John Segrave, vidt	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Edw ^d . Some, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
John Reyff, mcer	xij ^{li} .	xij ^o .
John Kempe, turner	xxij ^{li} .	xxij ^o .
Tho ^s . Tailer, mcer	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
Christ ^r . Gawnte, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Lodovic Jackson, drap ^o	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
John Yowill, baker	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Tho ^s . Collys, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Agnes Dockett, vidt	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Geo. Amyas, mcer	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
Henry Dewplacke, draper	xxx ^{li} .	xxx ^o .
Rob ^t . Howltone, mcer.	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
John Baker, at Nowton	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
Tho ^s . Backhouse, mcer	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
John Wattes, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Will ^m . Symson, yoman	xl ^{li} .	xl ^o .
Agnes Hall, vidt	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Rich. Johnson, mcer	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .
Tho ^s . May, butcher	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
John Kyng, curyer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Rob ^t . Page, roper	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Francis Bastard, gent.	xx ^{li} .	xx ^o .
Milachius Cogelay, gent.	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Tho ^s . Browne, gent.	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Geo. Reyfflay, mcer	xxv ^{li} .	xxv ^o .
Will ^m . Willyamson, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Rich ^d . Spence, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^o .
Tho ^s . Sprynghold, ferm	xv ^{li} .	xv ^o .

John Oynghooke, mcer	x ^{li} .	x ^s .
Barnard Revenson, Ducheman	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
John Ducheman	iiij ^{li} .	iiij ^s .
Vincent Johnson, Ducheman	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
David Cabrethe, Sckott	xv ^{li} .	xv ^s .
Hy. Lyndall, Flemyng	xl ^s .	ij ^s .
W ^m . Garroke, Ducheman	xx ^s .	j ^s .
Tho ^s . Myllys, Sckot	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Jacob Tolman, Duchman	xx ^s .	j ^s .
Andrea Sckytt „	xx ^s .	j ^s .
Peter Gosnay „	xx ^s .	j ^s .
John Wallyne „	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Raulande Thorman „	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Cornelius Anodryan „	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Henry Cornelys „	xl ^s .	ij ^s .
John Lucas, Frenchman	xl ^s .	ij ^s .
Peter Johnson, Ducheman	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Rob ^t . „ Sckott	xx ^s .	j ^s .
Mich ^l . Growte, Frenchman	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Ja ^s . Davyson „	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .
Ja ^s . Levynz, Ducheman	ij ^{li} .	ij ^s .

Mayor 1	Brewers 2	Farmer 1
Esquire 1	Yeomen 2	Widows 5
Merchants 6	Innkeeper 1	Dutchmen 13
Mercers 22	Shoemaker 1	Frenchmen 3
Drapers 3	Butcher 1	Fleming 1
Fishmonger 1	Mariners 2	Scots 2
Bakers 2	Roper 1	Undescribed 1
Gentlemen 6	Currier 1	

Mr. Harrod read some extracts from a transcript of a Norfolk Chronicle in the Additional MSS. at the British Museum, proving that it was a Chronicle of Langley Priory.

MR. W. M. FELLOWS communicated a discovery of gold and silver coins washed up on the beach at Scratby, near Yarmouth. The coins exhibited were:—1. A gold coin,

called a Rider, of James I., having him on horseback in armour, plumed; the horse bearing the arms of Scotland on the housings, and a plume on his head. "JACOBVS 6, D. G. B. SCOTORVM." "1594" under the horse. *Reverse*: the arms of Scotland, crowned. "SPERO MELIORA." 2. Gold coin of Henry III. of France. *Obv.*: the arms of France, crowned. "HENRICVS III. D. G. FRAN. ET. P. REX." *Rev.*: "CRISTVS REN. VINCIT IMP. 1587." 3. Silver crown-piece of John George I., Elector of Saxe. *Obv.*: half-length of the Elector in armour, bare-headed, his left hand on a helmet, a drawn sword in his right resting on his right shoulder. "† IOHAN : GEORG : D. G. SA : RO : IMP : ARCHIM : ELE. 1613." *Rev.*: a head in profile. "R. AVGVST. F. E. D. S. I : C : E. M.:" and an outer border of eighteen shields of arms.

THE REV. J. GUNN stated that gold and silver coins had been frequently found along that part of the coast; and Mr. Fellows subsequently said that gold coins have been found as far North as Palling, and as far South as Pakefield.

MR. HARROD brought to the notice of the Committee a very remarkable aperture existing at the back of the sedilia in the South wall of the chancel at Hargham, near Attleburgh. As he seated himself in the sedilia, a small arched opening was in close approximation to his left ear: this opening went to the outside of the wall, but not directly, so as to serve for a squint; but with a curve so that it could only be used for the purpose of speaking or hearing through. Externally it has been bricked up.

The Hon. and Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH stated that fragments of two small statues in stone—one, a bishop; the other, a female, with hair falling over the dress in long braids—had been recently found in pulling down a wall by Heydon's Chapel, and were placed in the vestry of the Cathedral. They were of very good execution, but so much mutilated as to preclude identity.

10th July, 1851. THE REV. JOHN GUNN reported the discovery of a Roman kiln at Caister, near Yarmouth, and exhibited two mutilated urns found in it.

MR. DAWSON TURNER exhibited drawings by Mr. Winter of painted glass in Martham Church, and also of some at Mulbarton Church belonging to the Martham windows, and which had been removed to Mulbarton by a former incumbent on his removal from Martham to Mulbarton.

MR. Turner also exhibited drawings by Mr. Winter of remains of a house of the Elizabethan period, found in pulling down some buildings at the back of a house in Regent Street, Great Yarmouth, belonging to Mr. Cory.

A pair of curiously-carved bellows were exhibited by MRS. THURSTON, with an inscription,—

“Do your part as well as I,
And you'll have fire by and by.”

MR. EWING exhibited some fragments of a Roman mortarium and other Roman pottery, found at Eaton Nursery.

MR. FITCH exhibited a small heart-shaped silver locket, containing a silver-gilt profile of Charles I., found in Martham churchyard.

JAMES GAY, Esq., of Thurning Hall, exhibited a fine glass bead, recently found in the gravel at Wood Dalling. No other remains discovered.

The silver-gilt cup and cover of Castleacre Church were exhibited by the REV. J. H. BLOOM: inscribed, “The gift of Elenor Gybbon, 1598.” Annual letter “Q.” [1593, in Mr. O. Morgan’s list.]

6th November, 1851. MR. HARROD stated that in clearing the chancel of St. Peter’s Mancroft Church, to lower the floor and substitute benches for the cumbrous pews which before disfigured the church, it was discovered that the floor of the stalls of the choir was laid over a vault excavated to a depth of four or five feet; and that the outer wall of this

vault supported the screen dividing the choir from the nave and side aisles. What appeared the most remarkable circumstance in the discovery was this, that in this outer wall a range of earthen jars, placed on their sides, were inserted, with their mouths to the vault: there were about a dozen of them, three feet from each other. Mr. Harrod suggested that they were so placed to promote the dryness of the wall and vault. A plan was exhibited, and one of the jars was placed in the Norwich Museum.

Since this discovery similar ones have been made at Fountain's Abbey and other parts of the country, and many conjectures ventured on the cause of the peculiar position of the earthen jars, but none which appear founded on any stable ground.

The choir of St. Peter per Mountergate was similarly provided; and the Roman urns discovered in Ber Street, of which an account will be found in the Norwich Museum Catalogue annexed to this volume, were placed in a wall in a similar manner.

Mr. Harrod reported that Sir Thomas Beevor and himself had lately visited Mr. Wythe, of Middleton, and in the course of two days had laid bare a great portion of the site of the church of the nunnery at Blackburgh, a plan of which he laid before the Committee. The site has been long ploughed over. Two fragments of an effigy of a female, apparently of the fifteenth century, in the choir, and a number of stone coffins in the North transept, were almost the only objects found, except fragments of the pillars and mouldings of the building.

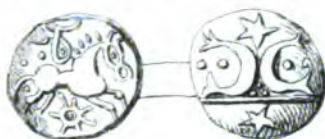
Mr. Harrod also placed on the table a plan of the Conventual Buildings at Yarmouth, as disclosed on the clearing of the site for the erection of schools, and drew attention to the great similarity in arrangement between these buildings and those at Sutton-Courtenay, described in the fifth volume of the Journal of the Institute.

MR. PLOWRIGHT, of Swaffham, sent for inspection a nutmeg-grater, of white wood, in the form of a shoe. This form is not uncommon, but the ornamentation appeared so good as to deserve an illustration (see plate, fig. 6.) It has "E. E. 1666," rudely cut on the bottom, near the toe.

4th December, 1851. MR. HARROD read a letter in the Paston series, addressed by Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, to Sir Wm. Knevet, Sir John Paston, Sir Robert Clere, the King's Attorney, Philip Calthorpe, Richard and Robert Southwell, on the 4th September, 1491, in which the Sir Henry Grey, of Ketteringham, about whose Will such unsuccessful inquiry has been made (see Vol. III., p. 282) is mentioned, with some particulars relative to himself and his family. It is written on behalf of her "right servant Thomas Martyn;" and is to the effect that, understanding Sir Harry Grey, the very owner and possessioner of the Man^r of Ketrynham, was then in great age and of right sickly disposition, and that after his decease the right and title thereof should of right belong to Thomas Martyn, his nephew and heir of blood, and heir by reason of entails; she addresses these parties because it runneth in report that Sir Harry is in purpose to disinherit him, and the said Thomas is of kin and alliance to divers of them, and to many other gentlemen within the shire, and also the said Sir Harry and Thomas, his nephew, were "of her lord's near blood." It does not appear that her or their exertions had much effect, as Sir Henry left the manor to the Heveninghams.

MR. FITCH exhibited rubbings of the brasses of Sir Peter Reade, in St. Peter's Mancroft Church, Norwich. They consisted of the figure of a man in armour, with a square brass beneath his feet inscribed to Sir Peter Reade, who is there stated to have died in 1568. The armour in which the figure is attired is supposed to be that of about 1470. These brasses becoming loose, the backs of them were ex-

1



2



5



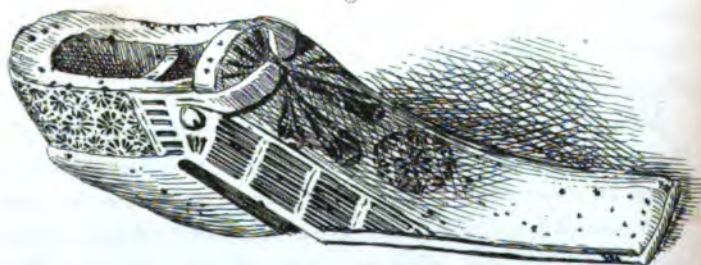
3



4



6



NORFOLK ANTIQUITIES.



amined, and found to be portions of a much larger and finer brass, of Flemish work of about 1520. The head and the cushion on which it rested, part of the dress, and the hands of a male figure, probably a Flemish merchant, executed with great skill, were readily made out. Sir Peter Reade's brass is engraved in Cotman's *Brasses*.

8th January, 1852. MR. FITCH exhibited a very fine specimen of a bronze sword, of the Celtic period, found near East Dereham, but was able to give no particulars of the mode or place of its discovery.

5th February. ROBERT RISING, Esq., of Horsey, forwarded a sketch of a small Roman urn, found, in trenching some ground for planting at the back of his residence, in 1848. Not a hundred yards from the spot, a Second brass coin of Vespasian was also found. R. An eagle and globe. Dimensions of urn: height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of base and mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of neck, 2 inches; greatest diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (See plate, page 354, fig. 3.)

Mr. Rising further communicated that he was in possession of two querns: one found about four feet underground, in a very perfect state, three years ago; the other, some years before.

W. J. BOLDING, Esq., of Weybourne, communicated the discovery of an immense quantity of fragments of Celtic and Roman Pottery, in trenching the site of "Salthouse Broad," on the North-east coast between Cley and Weybourne, a few feet beneath the surface. A deputation of the Committee, at Mr. Bolding's invitation, subsequently visited the spot, which is separated from the sea by the sand-bank known as the "Marram Hills," when a hill adjoining, called "Greenborough Hill," was excavated, and also found to have numerous fragments of Roman pottery, a few Roman bricks, and considerable traces of fire.

4th March. THE REV. C. R. MANNING reported the result of an examination he had made of the large collection of pits on the heath at Weeting, near Brandon, commonly known as "Grimmers," or "Grimes Graves." This examination appeared fully to confirm the opinion that they were the remains of a British village.

MR. HARROD called attention to the great confusion which existed in the generally-received version of William Worcester's description of the Norwich Cloisters in his *Itinerary*, arising, as he believed, from the incorrectness of the transcripts. That by Nasmith, in 1778, reads: From the door to the infirmary to those arches in which the marriages hang (*in quibus maritagia dependent*) was made by John of Ely, Bishop of Norwich, and his friends; and further on: From the marriages (*A maritagiis*) with the door of the refectory and the lavatories by Geoffry Simonds, Rector of the Marsh.

Blomefield had previously adopted the same reading, and had supposed a boss over the refectory door to represent a marriage, and that to be the place where "marriages" were solemnized.

This, however, left it very doubtful where John of Ely's work ended and Simonds' began; and further, in spite of Blomefield's learned dissertation on marriages, "*ad ostium ecclesiæ*," this was not a very likely spot for them to have been celebrated. On inspecting the boss referred to, it was found to represent Adam and Eve, with the tree of knowledge between them.

He suggested, therefore, that the reading of the MS. should be *manu⁹gia* (towels.) The arch "where the towels hung" was the one left of that containing the refectory door, the lavatories being to the right.

Mr. Harrod subsequently read a letter from Mr. Collett, the librarian of Caius College, who had kindly inspected the original MS. in the Corpus Christi Library, at his request, informing him of the correctness of his proposed emendation.

1st April. THE REV. EDWARD POSTLE exhibited a collection of early deeds relating to an estate at Colney, of which the most curious were two having twisted rushes pressed into the wax of the seals round the impressions: both bore date early in the fifteenth century.

MR. FITCH exhibited a deed, dated 1586, relating to an estate at Tharston, having a similar addition to the seal.

Mr. Fitch reported that nearly 300 silver British coins had recently been found in an urn at Weston. MR. GODDARD JOHNSON, MR. FITCH, and the REV. E. ALSTON exhibited a few of the coins and a fragment of the rude Celtic urn which had contained them, and Mr. Goddard Johnson subsequently made the following communication respecting them :—

“ In March last, some men, making a ditch through a field belonging to H. Custance, Esq., came upon an urn containing about three hundred coins of the Iceni. They broke the urn, and made the fragments up with the soil in forming the bank.

“ About a hundred and fifty of these coins have passed through my hands, from which I have allowed twenty to be selected for the British Museum.

“ Among the coins were two consular denarii: one of the Antonia and the other of the Cassia family.

“ This discovery is of the greatest interest; for not only does it confirm the appropriation of British coins of the types found to the Iceni, which had been made by numismatists, but it adds to this class of coins some new types.

“ The most common type is a rude representation of a horse on one side; on the other, two crescents placed back to back. On some, in about the proportion of one in twenty, is a rude profile of a human head, and, in a few instances, the figure of a wild boar. Beneath the horse, in numerous instances, are the letters ECE., or ECEN., believed to be a contraction of “ ICENI ”; on others, in the like position, CEA., T., ATD., ATED., or ANTD. Where the first letter is A the hind leg of the

horse forms one of the limbs of the letter. Two new types may be specially mentioned: one with, *Obv.*, two small crescents back to back with branches or leaves. *R.* A horse with head to the left, all the other coins having the horse's head to the right. The other coin is so much worn on one side as to make it impossible to describe: the *R.* is a horse with head to the right; above it, the letters *CAV.*, *CAN.*, or *CAM*; beneath it, *DURO*. Blomefield states, on the authority of Gale, (Vol. V., p. 210) that coins have been found at Taseburgh with *IC. DURO. T.* The same reference is given in the *Numismatic Journal* as authority for their having been found at Caister. It is still a matter of doubt what the meaning of these inscriptions may be.

"The number of the Iceni coins thus found was the largest on record; and the Society is indebted to the Numismatic Society for the loan of a plate illustrative of these valuable relics.

"About forty coins of the same character were found at March, Cambridgeshire, six of which were engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. I., p. 87.

"Long before the discovery of the Weston coins, I had three of that class, one of which was found at Middleton, near Lynn, having a horse on the concave side, and the boar on the other. Another, of the same type, was found at Walsingham. The third, which is of copper, appears to have been plated with silver, some of which yet remains. This shows how very early forgeries were practised.

"I supplied the gold coin of the Iceni, found at Oxnead, figured by Mr. Hawkins in his *Silver Coins of England*, Plate I., No. 2, and offered another to him for the British Museum, which he declined. It is somewhat remarkable that the only two gold coins of the Iceni known, should have passed through my hands. (See plate, p. 354, figs. 1 and 2.)

"The plate lent us by the Numismatic Society contains, in addition to the coins found at Weston, the figure of one



COINS OF THE ICENI.

found at Weston in Norfolk



of the coins attributed to the Iceni in the possession of Mr. Huxtable (fig. 12). It appears to read *SITMV*, which is thought by Mr. Beale Poste to denote *Sitomagus*, one of the towns of the Iceni. The coin marked 11 in the plate is also from Mr. Huxtable's collection, and was engraved from its evident affinity to the Weston coins.

"GODDARD JOHNSON."

MR. W. M. FELLOWS communicated that the workmen employed in laying the pipes for the Yarmouth Water Company through the parish of Ormesby, had, at the depth of three feet from the surface, come upon an old brick drain, six to eight inches square; and beneath it, about eighteen inches deeper, a lead pipe running in the same direction, about an inch-and-quarter bore. They ran in a South-easterly direction from the old Manor-house, at the distance of 500 yards from it. MR. HARROD referred to a similar discovery at Kenninghall some years since, when many feet of lead pipe were taken out of the ground about midway between the palace at Kenninghall and the curious conduit-head at Boyland Hall, about two miles distant.

27th April. MR. BRANFORD, of Horningtoft, communicated that, in clearing the Great Wood at that place, a number of curious earth-works had been discovered; and MR. HARROD stated that Mr. Carthew and himself had paid a visit to the spot, and that the earth-works consisted of a bank and ditch enclosing a small circular space, with one of somewhat greater size of a horse-shoe form adjoining it. Foundations of some regular building of rubble-work, and a well in a very perfect state, were within these earth-works. The whole contents of the earth-works and enclosures were about an acre.

Tradition says, "there was once a great castle here, and something is buried in that well."

6th May. MR. GODDARD JOHNSON exhibited a deed belonging to the Trustees of the Great Hospital, dated 1622, and executed by Sir Henry Appleton, of Bemflete, Essex. The seal was an impression of a gold signet ring found at Sprowston, and now in the collection of Mr. Fitch. The arms on the ring did not appear, however, to be those of Appleton, but were said to be those of Arnold. They are two dolphins hauriant combatant, on a chief three escallops of the first. Blomefield noticed them in the windows of Cromer Church; and they also appear on a roll of Norfolk Arms in the Heralds' College, but with no name affixed to them. (Fig. 4 in plate at page 354.)

MR. W. M. FELLOWS sent a drawing of a seal ring, found at Ormesby, with a merchant's mark upon it, consisting of a cross with the letters C. W. affixed to the limbs of it.

2nd September. THE REV. GEORGE MUNFORD forwarded, for the inspection of the Committee, a very minute and valuable Dissertation on the Norfolk Churches mentioned in *Domesday*.

MR. FITCH reported the discovery of some Roman urns in digging the foundations of a warehouse adjoining Messrs. Chamberlin's establishment, in the Market-place, Norwich, at a depth of full thirteen feet from the surface. Two of the urns were exhibited; and MR. GODDARD JOHNSON stated that a brass coin of Diocletian had been found at the same time.

4th November. THE REV. JOHN GUNN informed the Committee that Mr. Rising, of Horsey, had handed to him a brass, formerly on the tomb of Erasmus Paston in Paston Church; and that another had been found in the possession of a blacksmith at North Walsham; both of which he had caused to be restored to their original positions on the tomb.

3rd March, 1853. T. W. KING, Esq., York Herald, communicated a valuable paper on the Cinque Port jurisdiction, from manuscripts in the Heralds' College.

7th April. MR. FITCH exhibited a gold ring of the sixteenth century, recently found, bearing the arms of Kervyle of Wiggenhall, with a mullet.

THE REV. JOHN GUNN laid before the meeting a small perforated stone, apparently a hammer-head, or for slinging, lately found at Lyng Easthoe.

2nd June. THE REV. C. R. MANNING exhibited a small British arrow-head, of white silex, found by himself outside a tumulus at Weeting, Norfolk; where at the same time another large tumulus was opened, but nothing discovered in it.

4th August. MR. HARROD stated that on a recent inspection of the font at Aylsham, figured and described in Vol. II., p. 83, he had discovered that the shield described by Mr. Yates as containing the monogram "I. H. S.," had originally contained the arms of Erpingham, an inescutcheon with an orle of martlets. The martlets had been defaced and the monogram cut upon the scutcheon. The manor was given to Sir Thomas Erpingham by Henry V. in 1414. In 1460 it was settled to fulfil the Will of Henry VI.

THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER read extracts from a poem printed by Wynkyn de Worde, of which a copy exists in the Pepysian Library. It contained a minute account of the position of the wells at Walsingham.

1st September. THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER reported that excavations had been made at the West end of the Priory Church at Walsingham, by which the West entrance and the bases of some of the pillars of the nave had been

disclosed; and MR. HARROD exhibited sketches of some of these.

6th October. THE REV. C. R. MANNING exhibited a bronze lance-head, found at Thorpe next Haddiscoe. It is constructed with a loop on each side, and is of similar type to one in the Norwich Museum.

8th December. HUDSON GURNEY, Esq., communicated the following copy of a document he had received from Sir Henry Ellis, relative to labourers' wages, as fixed by the Justices of the Peace in Norfolk in the 9th Henry VI. (1430-1.)

Ordinacio facta per Justiciarios Pacis in Com. Norff.
super stipendiis Artificiarum, servien. et labor' Anno
nono Regis Henrici Sexti.

It is ordeyned that a plowman, a shepherd, a carter, a maltester, the best shall take 13^s. 4^d. in the yere, and mete and drynk and clothyng, and the secondary, 10^s. and mete and drynk.

A woman servant of husbondrye, the best shall take 10^s. and mete and drynk and clothyng.

A laborer, a dycher, a waller, an hegger, a dawber, shall take in the wynters day 1½^d., and in the somers daye 2^d.; and a secondary laborer, a waller, an hegger, a dawber, shall take in the Wynterday 1^d., and in the someresday 1½^d. and mete and drynk.

A Baylly of Husbondrye shall take in the yere 20^s. and mete and drynk and clothyng.

A Thatster shall take in the Wyntersday 1½^d., and on the somersday 2^d. and mete and drynk.

Masons, leyers, reders, tylers, sall take on the Wyntres dayes 2^d., and on the somersday 2½^d. and mete and drynk.

A Carpenter and Sawyer shall take on the Wyntersday 2^d.,

and on the Somersday 3^d. A secondary Carpenter, a sawer, shall take on the Wyntersdaye 2^d., and on the Someresday 2½^d. and mete and drynk.

The thressyng of a qŕt̃r Whete, Rye, Mestelyon, peson, and benes and the syeng of the same 4^d. withoute Mete.

The thressyng and the syeng of a qŕt̃r Barly and Ote 2^d. wyth oute Mete.—From the *Cottonian MS.*, Domit. A. xv.

23rd February, 1854. THE REV. C. R. MANNING exhibited a portion of a wooden frame, found *in situ*, in unblocking a double-splayed circular window in the chancel of Framingham Earl Church. It is pierced with eyelet holes in different directions, evidently for the purpose of affixing some kind of lacing as a substitute for glass. Fragments of similar frames were found in the other double-splayed windows, but very much decayed. He thought that the material thus employed might have been canvass, which is mentioned by the late Mr. Hudson Turner (*Domestic Architecture*, p. xxx.) as having been used in Westminster Abbey in 1270. Mr. Harrod suggested the use of cords, and Mr. Albert Way has since given his opinion that "the holes were for cords to be passed through to keep the birds out, the rain being sufficiently excluded by the double splay. Contrivances of this kind appear to have been termed fenestralls, *fenestralia*. Horman, in his *Vulgaria*, says, that 'glasen wyndow is to let in the lyght and kepe out the winde. Paper or lyn clothe straked acrosse with losyngys, mak fenestrals in stede of glasen wyndowes.' Possibly the 'losyngys' in this case imply a net-work of cords stretched across to preserve the paper or linen from damage." The discovery of this curious frame may therefore raise the question, whether double-splayed windows are always necessarily Saxon, or whether they were not in some cases adopted in Norman architecture, as a means of excluding rain where glass was not provided.

MR. BARTON sent for inspection a bronze fibula of the

Anglo-Saxon period, recently found at Threxton. It is engraved at page 354, fig. 5.

MR. HENRY DAVENEY forwarded an extract from family papers relating to a funeral in 1693, containing some curious items:—

A noate of what moneyes I [Charles Daveney of Colton] layd out about my Grandmother Randolpchs ffeunerall. She was buried Jan. 2nd, 1693.

Att Norwich.

Jan. 1. p ^d . to M ^r . Greene for Sugar Rowles 10	00	13	04
Itm. p ^d . to M ^r . Hawkener for eight quarts of Sack att 01 ^s . 08 ^d .			
p ^r quart	00	13	04
It. payd her for 4 quarts of white wine at 01 ^s . 04 ^d . p ^r quart	00	05	04
Itm. p ^d . M ^r . Southgate for a herse to cary her to Pulham	01	10	00
Itm. expended for 3 horse meales	00	02	06
Itm. p ^d . M ^r . Hawkener for five glass bottles	00	01	03
Itm. Jan. 5 th . p ^d . Nath. Knights for his mare Journey to Pulham	00	01	00
Itm. p ^d . M ^r . Mayes for gloves & winding things, as appears by his rec't	03	10	00
Payd the Clarke of the p ^r ish for making of the grave in the Choncell, and he is to lay downe the bricks there agen for y ^e same	00	06	00
Itm. p ^d . M ^r . Booty, y ^e minister y ^t buryd her, what he s ^d was his fee	00	01	00
Itm. p ^d . att the Crowne in Pulham for the bearers & other relations & friends	00	06	00
Itm. to the Surrogate and Register	00	12	04

July, 1854. THE REV. S. W. KING gave an account of an examination of the site of a deposit of Early British urns at Hempnall. Mr. King's Paper will appear in a future volume. The Committee desire to record that information was given at the Society's office of this discovery, and arrangements made for carrying out a proper examination of the ground by neighbouring farmers, a class of men who have, unfortunately, until very recently, taken but little interest in in our pursuits, although so many of our ancient remains

were in their charge; this, and other recent instances, however, serve to show that we may begin to calculate upon their co-operation in our investigations.

THE REV. C. R. MANNING offered the following notes on the description of the Northwold Sepulchre:—

Correction to page 132. The costume of the soldiers at the foot of the Easter Sepulchre at Northwold, is of the time of Richard II. The date is therefore *circa* 1380, and not 1480, as stated in the text.

“R. G.” at page 130, is the well-known Richard Gough, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and author of the “Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain.”

26th October. MR. GODDARD JOHNSON stated, that on the 10th instant, as some men were making a drain in Ber Street, Norwich, near Mariner’s Lane, they discovered five gold coins of Edward III., called Ryals, or Double Nobles; their circulating value being at the time of issuing, 13s. 4d.; their weight, 119½ grains, or five pennyweights.

Their *Obverse* represents the king in a ship, having a drawn sword held upright in his right hand; a shield with the arms of England and France in his left; lions and fleurs-de-lis alternately on the gunwale of the vessel.

Their *Reverse* bears a cross fleury highly ornamented, having a lion with a crown over it in each quarter, and the letter “E” in the centre.

The legend on the *Obverse* is—

✠ EDWARD DEI GRA. REX ANGL. DNS. HYB. Z. AQT.

“Edward [by the] Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine.”

Rev.: ✠ IHC AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIV. ILLOREM. IBAT.

“But Jesus passing through the midst of them went his way.”

St. Luke iv. 30; or John viii. 59.

On another of these coins, the field of which is the same

as the former ; viz., the king in a ship, &c. &c., the legend is—

✠ EDWARD DEI GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. D. HYB.

Here, it is to be observed, the king assumed the title of King of France, and omitted that of Aquitaine. The change of the titles occurred in A. D. 1336.

The legend on the *reverse* is the same as on that of the first-mentioned coin.

In the Treaty of Peace with King John, Edward renounced all claim to the title of King of France; and accordingly it was omitted upon his coins until 1369, when he resumed his claim.

These were the only two varieties in the five coins found.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, *note*. For boars' heads, *read* bears' heads.

Page 54, *note*. Omit the word "maternal."

Page 321, line 12. Omit the words, "where his brass still remains."

Page 329, line 9. Insert, after "Ingham," "where a portion of his brass still remains."

The Committee have determined, in consequence of the numerous omissions they have been obliged to make in the Appendix, that, for the future, a portion of Extracts from their Proceedings shall be given in each Part.

INDEX TO VOL. IV.

- Account Rolls of Yarmouth, 259
 Anomaly, Architectural, at Knapton, 300
 Antiquities of the Valleys of the Waveney and
 Yare, Sketch of, 310
 Arms, Unappropriated Coat of, at Iinstead, 306
 Arrow-head found at Weeting, 361
 Astley, Pedigree of, 19
 Aylsham, Fount at, 361
- Baptistery at Trunch, 297
 Barton Turf Church, Remarks on, 305
 Bead found at Wood Dalling, 352
 Beddingfield Sir Henry, Letters of, (*see Index to
 State Papers*) 227
 Beeston Church, Saxon Masonry in, 305
 Bellows, Carved, 358
 Berrye Family, Pedigree of, 16
 Blackburgh Priory, Middleton, 353
 Books bequeathed, 318, 321, 323, 326, 333, 335,
 336, 338, 339
 Brasses, Pallimpest, at St. Peter's Mancroft,
 354
 Buckenham, Urns found at, 315
 Bulla of gold, found at Palgrave, 315
 Burgh next Aylsham, Antiquities found at, 344
 Bury, Privileges granted by Cnut to the Monks
 of, 103
 Bust of bronze, found at Caister, 233
 — terra cotta, found at Caister, 233
- Caister by Yarmouth, Roman Kiln found at, 353
 — Controversy respecting the Manor of,
 25—36
 Caister near Norwich, Antiquities found at, 232
 Candlestick, Ancient Enamelled, 118
 Carlton, Urn found at, 315
 Carthew G. A., on Letters of Sir Edw. Coke
 and Edw. Lord Cromwell, 267
 — on the Right of Wardship and the
 Ceremony of Homage and Fealty in the
 Feudal Times, 286
- Castleacre Church, Cup of, 352
 Castle Rising, Account of, 59
 — Arrangement and Condition of Castle
 at, 73, 79
 — Chapel of Castle at, 75
 — Documents respecting, 85
 Catton, Architectural Relics at, 341
 Celts found in the Waveney Valley, 311
 Charnel-house (?) in Tunstead Church, 305
 Charters, Saxon, at Lynn, 93
 Chester Greville J., communicates Letter from
 Sir W. Paston, 306
 — Sketch of Antiquities of the Valleys
 of the Waveney and Yare, 310
 Christmas Lord, 259
 Churches in the neighbourhood of North Wals-
 ham, Remarks on, 296
 Cloisters of Norwich Cathedral, correction of
 Blomefield's error about, 356
 Coals, Price and Freight of, in Early Times, 255
 Coins, British, found at Oxnead, 356
 — found at Middleton, 358
 — found at Norwich, 361
 Coins, British, found at Weston, 357
 — found at Horsey, 355
 — found at Scratby, 350
 — Gold, of Edw. III., found in Ber Street,
 365
 — List of Roman, found at Caister, 234
 — Roman, found at Diss and Scole, 313
 — Roman, found at Reedham, 315
 — Roman, found at Thurton, 315
 Coke, Sir Edward, Letter of, 268
 Colney, Deeds relating to, 357
 Coroners' Rolls of Yarmouth, Extracts from,
 244
 Court Rolls of Yarmouth, 239
 Crenellate, meaning of, 277
 Cromwell, Edward Lord, Letter of, 269
- Darrow Wood, Denton, Earth-works at, 316,
 346

Denton, Earth-works in Darrow Wood, 346
 Dereham, East, Celtic Sword found near, 355
 Diss, Antiquities found at, 311, 313
 Ditchingham, Antiquities found at, 312, 313
 Dorser, Corser, and Banker, Explanation of, 319
 Dress of the Town Council of Yarmouth, 268

Earsham, Antiquities found at, 312, 313
 Earth-works at Horningtoft, 359
 Easter Sepulchre, Ceremonies connected with, 123
 Eaton Nursery, Roman Pottery found at, 358
 Edingthorpe Screen, 301
 Elizabeth, Princess, State Papers relating to her, 133
 Elizabeth, Queen, her Progress in Norfolk, 283
 Ellingham, Celts found at, 312
 Ellis Sir Henry, communicates a document on Wages in 1430, 363
 Elmham, Saxon Bishops of, 106
 Executions at Yarmouth, 247

Fibula found at Caister, 333
 ——— Saxon, found at Threxton, 363
 Fitch Robert, Antiquities found at Caister, 232
 Font at Irstead, 305
 Framingham Earl Church, Frame found in Chancel Window, 363
 Fresh Force, Explanation of, 256
 Fritton Church, Mural Paintings at, 345
 Funeral Account, 1693, 364

Gaul Delivery Rolls of Yarmouth, 248
 Geldestone, Celtic and Roman Antiquities found at, 312, 314
 Gillingham, Coin found at, 314
 Glass, Painted, in Martham Church, 352
 ——— in St. Andrew's Church, Norwich, 347
 Gonville, Pedigree of, 15
 Goodwin C. W., on Saxon Charters at Lynn, 93
 Gorleston, Druidical Remains at, 312
 Green Sir William, a Vagrant Priest, 342
 Grey Sir Henry, 354
 Grimes Graves at Westing, 356

Harleian MS., Cod. 1109, Index to, 292
 Hargham Church, Sedilia in, 351
 Harrod Henry, on Castle Rising, 59
 ——— Extracts from Early Wills in the Norwich Registries, 317
 ——— Notes on the Records of the Corporation of Yarmouth, 239
 ——— Notice of Seal found at Marsham, 237
 Harry Carry, the Yarmouth Bow-cart, Date of Introduction, 261

Hempnall, British Urns found at, 364
 Henry VII., his Room at Oxburgh, 279
 Holt Church, Monument in, 346
 Homage and Fealty, Ceremony of in Feudal Times, 286
 Hopkins, the Witchfinder, at Yarmouth, 249
 Horningtoft, Earth-works at, 359
 Horsey, Roman Urn and Coins found at, 355
 Houghton, Paintings on the Screen at, 345
 House, Elizabethan, at Yarmouth, 352
 Hutch, Common, Use of, at Yarmouth, 242

Iron-work, Ancient, 303, 304
 Irstead Church, Remarks on, 305
 Isabella, Queen, Correction of Statements about her, 60—69
 ——— Real Place of her Death and Burial, 68, 69

Johnson Goddard, on Coins found at Caister, 234

Ketteringham, Manor of, 354
 King, T. W., Esq., on the Cinque Port Jurisdiction, 361
 Kirby Cane, Antiquities found at, 313
 Knapton Church, Remarks on 300

Lance-head found at Thorpe next Haddiscoe, 363
 Langley Priory, MS. Chronicle of, 350
 Letter from Clement Paston to his brother John, 26
 ——— from Edward Lord Cromwell, 269
 ——— from King Henry VI. to John Paston, 24
 ——— from King Edw. IV. to Sir John Paston, 99, 30
 ——— from King Edw. IV. to the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, 34
 ——— from King Henry VII. to Sir John Paston, 37
 ——— from King Henry VIII. to Wm. Paston, 39—41
 ——— from Sir Edward Coke, 268
 ——— from Sir Wm. Paston to Sir Thomas Knivett, 308
 Letters from Queen Mary, (*see Index to State Papers*) 227
 ——— from Sir H. Bedingfield, (*see Index to State Papers*) 227
 ——— from the Privy Council, (*see Index to State Papers*) 227
 Littleton, Pedigree of, 19
 Lyng Easthoe, Stone Implement found at, 361
 Lynn, Saxon Charters of, 93
 ——— Seal of the White Friars of, 56
 ——— Subsidy Roll, 347

Machecollate, meaning of, 377
 M'Gill Rev. G. H., on Easter Sepulchre at Northwold, 130
 — on Oxburgh Hall, 371
 Manning Rev. C. R., on an Ancient Enamelled Candlestick, 118
 — on Seal of Roger Bigod, 92
 — on Seal of White Friars of Lynn, 56
 — Remarks on Churches near North Walsham, 296
 — State Papers relating to the Princess Elizabeth, 133
 Market Regulations of Yarmouth, 360
 Marks of Yarmouth Merchants, 257
 Marshal of England, Office of, 92
 Marsham, Seal of Subsidy on Wool found at, 237
 Martham Church, Painted Glass in, 359
 Martham, Locket found at, 352
 Mary, Queen, her Letters (*see Index to State Papers*) 227
 Mary, Queen of Scots, her Needle-work at Oxburgh, 280
 Mawby Family, Pedigree of, 23
 Middleton, British Coin found at, 356
 Mound at Burgh next Aylsham, 344
 Munford Rev. G., on Norfolk Churches mentioned in *Domesday*, 360

 Noon Henry, Will of, 333
 Norfolk Families entitled to bear Arms, 292
 Northwold, Easter Sepulchre at, 120
 — Sepulchre, Correction to Account of, 365
 Norwich, Ber Street, Coins found in, 365
 — Cathedral Cloisters, William Worcester's Description of, 356
 — Urn found at, 360
 — Corporation Records, Extracts from, 342
 — Danish Sword found at, 316
 — St. Andrew's Church, Painted Glass in, 347
 — St. Peter's Mancroft, Brasses in, 354
 — St. Peter's Mancroft, Earthen Jars found in, 352
 — St. Peter's per Mountergate, Earthen Jars in, 353
 — Urns found in the Market-Place, 360
 Nutmeg-grater, 1666, 354

 Ormesby, Seal Ring found at, 360
 Oxburgh, Grant of a Market to, 272, 276
 — Hall, Account of, 271
 — Hall, forfeited and sold in 1652, 282
 — Hall, License to build, 1489, 276
 — Manor of, 274
 Oxnead, Gold British Coin found at, 358

Paintings, Mural, at Fritton, 345
 Paston Church, Brasses restored to, 360
 — Clement, Account of, 42
 — Descent of the Marriage of Sir Thomas, 45
 — Family, Genealogy of, 1
 — Sir Wm., his Tomb at North Walsham, 308
 — Wm., Earl of Yarmouth, Descent from, 52
 Patent Rolls, Extracts from, on Queen Isabella, 63
 Peche Family, Pedigree of, 11
 Pharos, Roman, at Reedham, 315
 Pie-poudre, Court of, 277
 Pilgrimages, 338
 Pipe of Lead, found at Ormesby, 358
 Plea and Deed Rolls of Yarmouth, 251
 Porch-buttress at Trunch, 299
 Porches, Early, 300
 Porthois, Correction of Swinden's Error on, 240
 Pottery, Roman and Celtic, found at Salthouse Broad, 355
 — Roman, found at Eaton Nursery, 353
 Priest, a Vagrant, 342
 Privy Council, Letters of (*see Index to State Papers*) 227

 Records of the Corporation of Yarmouth, Notes on, 239
 Redenhall, Roman Pottery found at, 313
 Reedham, Coins found there, 315
 — Roman Pharos, 315
 Reliefs, Explanation of, 287
 Ring, Gold, 345
 Road, Roman, at Billington, 312
 Rowdham, Homage for the Manor of, 289
 Roydon, Celts found at, 311
 Ruston, East, Brass Roundels found at, 345

 Saint Emona, 346
 Salthouse Broad, Pottery found at, 355
 Sanctuary, Right of, 248
 Saxon Masonry, Beeston Church, 305
 Scole, Antiquities found at, 311, 313
 Seratby, Coins found at, 350
 Screens, Dated Examples of, 298, 301
 Seal of Robert de Montalt, 56
 — of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 92
 — of the White Friars of Lynn, 56
 — of Subsidy on Wool, found at Marsham, 237
 Shrewsbury, Countess of, her Needle-work at Oxburgh, 290
 Single Fence, 251
 Sound-holes, Worstead Church, 302
 Sprowston, Gold Ring found at, 360

Stapleton, Will of Sir Brian, 337
 — Will of Sir Miles, 331
 State Papers preserved at Oxburgh, 285
 — relating to the Princess Elizabeth,
 1554, 133
 Statues found in Norwich Cathedral, 351
 Subsidy Rolls, Lynn, 347
 Surnames, Curious Instances of, 253
 Sword, Celtic, found near East Dereham, 355

 Thorpe next Haddiscoe, Lance-head found at,
 319, 362
 Threxton, Saxon Fibula found at, 363
 Thuriton, Celt found at, 312
 Thurton, Coins found at, 315
 Tofts, Chapel of, in Langham, 339
 Tombland, meaning of, 241
 Trunch Church, Remarks on, 296
 Tunstead Church, Remarks on, 303

 Urn found at Horsey, 355
 — British, found with Coins at Weston, 357
 Urns, British, found at Hempsall, 364
 — found at Buckenham, 315
 — found at Caister by Yarmouth, 352
 — found in Norwich Market-Place, 360

 Wages in Norfolk in 1430, 362
 Walsham, North, Remarks on Church at, 306

Walsingham, British Urn found at, 356
 — Excavations at, 361
 — Poem on, by Wynkyn de Worde, 361
 Wardship, on the Right of, in Feudal Times,
 286
 Weeting, Arrow-head found at, 361
 — Grimes Graves at, 356
 Weston, British Coins found at, 357
 Wighenhall, Gold Ring of Kervyle family found
 at, 361
 Will of Richard Edy, an extraordinary one, 329
 Wills in the Norwich Registries, Extracts from,
 317
 Windows, Ancient Substitutes for Glass in, 363
 — Double-splayed, 363
 Window-tracery, Curious Example of, 304
 Witchcraft, Crime of, 248
 Wood Dalling, Bead found at, 352
 Worship Francis, Account of a MS. Genealogy
 of Paston Family, 1
 Worstead Church, Remarks on, 301

 Yarmouth, Conventual Buildings at, 353
 — Elisabethan House at, 352
 — Notes on the Records of the Corpo-
 ration of, 239
 — Republican Politics of, 265
 — Toll-house Hall, 324

END OF VOL. IV.



1
2

3
4
5
6
7

8

9
10

11

